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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS

**ENQUIRY INTO MEASURES
OF REHABILITATION
OF PROSTITUTES**

(Part III and Part IV)

**METHODS OF REHABILITATION OF ADULT
PROSTITUTES**

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

NOTE

Since 1934, the League of Nations Committee on Traffic in Women and Children and its successor the Advisory Committee on Social Questions have conducted an enquiry into the rehabilitation of prostitutes. The results of this enquiry are now being published in four parts. "Prostitutes : Their Early Lives" (Part I) and "Social Services and Venereal Disease" (Part II) have already appeared. This volume, on "Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes" (Part III), completes the study and also contains the "Conclusions and Recommendations" (Part IV), which, in the opinion of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, emerge from the whole enquiry.

It has been decided to complete the study with a report on the prevention of prostitution. Mr. S. Cohen, General Secretary of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women and Children, has acted as Rapporteur throughout the enquiry.

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PART III

INTRODUCTION

The information contained in this report was assembled through two questionnaires ¹ sent out to Governments and voluntary organisations ² by the League of Nations Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. Their principal aim was to discover what social services existed for the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes, how they were financed and organised, the methods used, the difficulties encountered and the results attained.

Rehabilitation, in this context, is generally taken to mean the process of helping prostitutes to abandon prostitution and to re-enter the normal working life of the community. As the following pages will show, however, the second part of this definition would not be universally accepted, for it is the avowed aim of some of the religious homes that the women they assist should never return to the life of the world.

Until recently, the question of rehabilitating prostitutes and the problems which it raises had received little attention. Indeed, for a considerable time, the rehabilitation work of the Roman Catholic church stood practically alone. The situation was altered by the rapidly growing interest in social questions which led to the creation of so many

¹ For the text of the questionnaires, see Annex I.

² For the names of Governments and voluntary organisations, see Annex II.

humanitarian and charitable organisations in the second half of the nineteenth century, but, even then, the many societies concerned in one way or another with assisting prostitutes were more anxious to abolish regulated prostitution¹ or to protect girls and young women from *souteneurs* and traffickers than to reform the professional prostitute. To-day, though social services for adult prostitutes exist, they are greatly outnumbered by those for minors; indeed, many countries with an admirable State system of assistance and protection for girls who are on the streets or in moral danger, have no organisation for adult prostitutes at all.

It is not difficult to see the reasons for this. First, there is the individualist doctrine: the belief that sane adults are the proper guardians of their own happiness and must be allowed to live the life they choose so long as they do not interfere with others. The State assumes obligations towards minors; they can be removed from their homes, placed under guardianship or in institutions. But, over adult women who are neither criminal nor insane, it has, in most countries² no such authority. Reluctance to interfere is made all the stronger by the fact that most professional prostitutes do not seem to wish to change their lives, or at any rate are not prepared to make any effort to do so. Experience has shown that assistance offered is often refused and that even the women who accept shelter in a home for a short time often return to their old life when they leave.

Another reason why this problem has received little attention is that the most recent developments in social service have been towards preventive rather than curative action. Often the replies to the questionnaire stated that,

¹ For the legal position regarding regulated prostitution (registration of prostitutes and licensed brothels), see Annex III.

² In many parts of the United States, prostitution is a legal offence and prostitutes can therefore be sentenced to internment in an institution as law-breakers. Under the Scandinavian vagrancy laws, directed partly, at any rate, against prostitutes, they can be sentenced to internment in a labour home.

although the services they described assisted women who asked for help, their principal work was preventive. This was particularly noticeable in the countries where social services have not been long in existence. They often have to operate very economically and it is considered that better results are obtained by concentrating on prevention rather than on reform and rehabilitation. Again since poverty, overcrowding and low wages are clearly contributory causes of prostitution, many investigators have felt that measures of general social reform to raise the standard of living and increase security, are likely to be more effective than any special measures of assistance.

These arguments carry weight; nevertheless there are grounds for believing that some kind of social service for the rehabilitation of prostitutes is necessary. Although it may be true that the majority of prostitutes do not make use of the available facilities for help, this must be due, at least in part, to the great influence which *souteneurs* and their associates are able to exercise over them, to their distrust of the possibility of disinterested help and to the apathy which their physical condition and their way of life seems to engender. There is evidence to show that if the effect of these factors can be lessened, many more prostitutes wish for help. And it is undeniable that a certain number do everywhere apply for assistance of their own accord.

It is unlikely, too, that measures of social reform alone will render rehabilitation unnecessary. They have undoubtedly affected prostitution; insurance against unemployment and illness makes it easier to tide over difficult periods, payments to the mothers of illegitimate children and the existence of homes for mothers and children render it less likely that women will be obliged to prostitute themselves to keep their children, and so on. But, great though the social improvements have been, they have not abolished poverty and bad labour conditions; in addition, investi-

gations have made it plain that the causes of prostitution among women lie to a considerable extent in character and temperament and not in external conditions. These two factors work together, for it is the women whose mentality makes it difficult for them to succeed in a normal working life—the lazy, the mentally abnormal, the erratic and unstable—who are likely to benefit least by social improvements, since they are reduced to doing the most unpopular work under the worst conditions.

Finally, advances in the study of criminal psychology and the treatment of delinquents have made the problem of rehabilitation far more interesting and important than in the past. For now it appears probable that, at least in the Western countries, the mentality which pre-disposes women to drift into prostitution is not peculiar to them but is closely allied to the mentality which predisposes towards crime and all anti-social action. Moreover, investigations have shown that a large proportion of professional prostitutes are mentally abnormal or deficient. Rehabilitation no longer appears, therefore, as a small problem affecting only a fraction of the population but, on the contrary, as part of a wide problem affecting society in general.

The answers to the questionnaires make it clear that the extent and nature of the social services for rehabilitation vary greatly from country to country; these variations are due, in part, to differences in the problem with which the social workers are faced. For example, since prostitution is above all an urban phenomenon, in agricultural districts with no large towns the number of prostitutes is too small to justify the creation of special services.

Again, as a recent League publication¹ has observed, in vast territories in the East, prostitution "is the consequence of social habits rather than of individual failings and for

¹ "The Work of the Bandoeng Conference" (document C.516.M.357.1937.IV).

whole groups of women it is the inevitable outcome of circumstance ". Social reformers in those countries therefore direct their efforts more towards abolishing the customs which destine girls to prostitution irrespective of their own wishes than towards rehabilitating prostitutes.

. In many countries in Europe and America, and especially those without regulated prostitution, the problem of rehabilitation has greatly altered in the past twenty years. The percentage of professionals among prostitutes has become lower, but the rehabilitation of these professional prostitutes has become more difficult. For, as the laws against procurers and *souteneurs* have increased in severity and as the social services have improved, fewer women have been forced to prostitute themselves by others or by the pressure of poverty. As a result, in countries with well-developed social services, most professional prostitutes are women who had a particularly strong predisposition for this life or who could not earn a living in other ways because of mental deficiency or abnormality. It is obviously far more difficult for women of this kind to renounce prostitution finally than for the innocent victim of the traffickers. Most of them are weakened physically by disease or excessive drinking and bound closely by habit, fear and affection to the milieu in which they have lived. Generally, they can only recover their health and independence by a long stay in an institution.

This decline in the number of women entirely engaged in prostitution appears to have been accompanied by an increase in the number of girls and young women living promiscuously, some of whom drift into casual prostitution for a time when they are unemployed or in need of money for other reasons. These women, one reply remarks, do not resemble the professional and cannot easily be distinguished from the average woman in the street. They may require help in the form of medical treatment, public relief, free accommodation, offers of work or the obtaining of an

affiliation order but they probably do not need or wish for training in an institution. Nor will they be willing to accept help which is known to be especially for prostitutes. In countries where this development has taken place, social workers engaged in rehabilitation have therefore two separate problems to deal with.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE REPORT

The material collected by the two questionnaires has been arranged as follows. The first two chapters of the report describe the steps taken to make the services for rehabilitation known to prostitutes and any classification which may have been made (according to health, education, possibilities of reform, etc.) of those who apply for help. The third and fourth chapters deal with the services for rehabilitation themselves—viz., institutions and the methods of training and re-education they employ—and forms of assistance other than institutional treatment—such as, for example, the provision of hostels and the finding of work. The next three chapters give an account of the general principles of rehabilitation, the difficulties encountered and opinions on the possibility of rehabilitation. They are followed by the concluding remarks.

It was intended that the report should deal only with the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes, since many of the services for minors have already been described in other publications.¹ There are, however, practically no institutions or organisations which only assist adults; the great majority of those which accept adults also accept minors. The accounts therefore inevitably cover some services for minors.

¹ "Institutions for Erring and Delinquent Minors" (document C.I.M.I.1934.IV); "Auxiliary Services of Juvenile Courts" (document C.P.E.238(1)); "Child Welfare Councils" (document C.8 M.7.1937.IV).

One form of assistance to adult prostitutes which many social workers expect to see still further developed in the future is in combination with the treatment for venereal disease. In many countries, prostitutes now can and do receive help from the social service nurses in hospitals and clinics. Sometimes social workers who are attached exclusively to venereal disease clinics have received a specialised training or, through long experience, have developed their own method of helping prostitutes who apply for treatment. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, there are even special institutions giving medical treatment for venereal disease together with education and training. These various ways of combining medical and social treatment were the subject of an earlier publication—"Social Services and Venereal Disease"¹—and are therefore not described here. Nevertheless, they are of great importance for the subject of this report and, to obtain a picture of the total assistance given, the two reports should be studied side by side.

¹ Document C.6.M.5.1938.IV.

HOW FACILITIES FOR ASSISTANCE ARE MADE KNOWN

Rehabilitation cannot be imposed. Even if it were possible to compel adult prostitutes to enter institutions or undergo periods of training, this result would not be attained, since success depends on the person's own desire to alter her way of life. Nevertheless, it is clearly an important condition of success that all prostitutes should know of the welfare services available and that the proper agencies should be told of women in need of help.

(i) BY THE AUTHORITIES

The replies to the questionnaire show that part of this work of publicity—sometimes the main part—is carried on by the authorities. In many countries, the police and the police welfare workers direct prostitutes who ask for assistance to suitable agencies and institutions; Courts and their probation officers also give information. A few replies mention that facilities for rehabilitation are made known through poor relief officials, visiting teachers, employment agencies, youth and public welfare offices or the health commissions which supervise prostitution. The rôle of the authorities in this matter, however, is generally a passive one. Information is offered to those who ask for it, but generally no attempt is made to convert any who refuse assistance. Much of the value of this official action lies in its wide range. The addresses of charitable organisations may not be common knowledge but everyone knows where

the police station and the employment exchange are and police and police welfare workers are known to prostitutes whom other organisations may never reach.

(ii) BY VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Like the authorities, voluntary societies also have offices where prostitutes can apply for help. But, at the same time, they often carry on a more active work of propaganda. For example, replies from Austria, Belgium, Bengal, Germany, Italy and Poland mention that welfare societies post bills, giving their addresses and explaining their work, in railway stations, on church doors or in prisons or work-houses. Some societies insert notices in the Press; others distribute leaflets or give public lectures in hospitals and prisons.

It is quite common for voluntary workers to visit regularly the places where prostitutes are likely to be found : police stations and courts, venereal disease clinics, maternity homes, prisons and so on. For example, a social assistant interviews the prostitutes brought to the Police Prefecture in Paris; in Danzig, representatives of voluntary agencies attend the criminal police office daily. The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene states that, in India, the only way to get into touch with prostitutes is to visit them in their houses; this is done through women workers in each area. Besides making the work of their societies known, some of these workers try directly to persuade prostitutes to change their way of life. In Norway, for instance, street missionaries and other social workers attempt to intercept beginners seen on the streets. The Irish reply states :

“ In Dublin, girls who have adopted a life of prostitution are sought out energetically by the Legionaries of the Legion of Mary who visit, at least weekly, the lodging houses where such women reside, the hospitals to which they go for treatment, the prisons, etc.

The Legionaries also picket the streets between 8 o'clock and 11 o'clock each night. The girls are invited to enter Santa Maria Hostel. They have therefore no difficulty in finding someone who will help them should they wish to give up their way of life."

Several countries report that cases are brought to notice through the Midnight Missions.

In countries with regulated prostitution, voluntary societies sometimes arrange with the police authorities to have a representative present when prostitutes apply for registration. This is done by the Hungarian National Committee for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children. Its representative interviews all the women and offers them work and shelter. In Uruguay, prostitutes are only registered eight days after their application; it is stated that the police officials ask the women during this time to call at the office of the Uruguayan League for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.

(iii) BY HOSPITALS AND CLINICS

In this work of publicity, an increasingly large part is being played by hospitals and clinics. Many of these now have welfare workers whose business it is to provide patients with the social assistance they require. These workers keep in touch with voluntary and official agencies and are able to direct their patients to them.

The reply from Poland states that notice is sometimes given by the prostitute's parents or guardians; in some Indian provinces, members of the public are said to notify cases to the police.

Do these measures of publicity attain their end? On the whole, the authorities are satisfied that they do. It is true that, in Eastern India, the majority of women concerned are said to be ignorant of the facilities for assistance, and that, in Uruguay, prostitutes are said to know of

medical but not of social assistance,¹ but the rest of the evidence shows that these are exceptions. Thus, for example, the French answer states "Generally speaking, prostitutes wishing to give up their mode of life, know where to apply". The Czecho-slovak reply observes that "any prostitutes who want to give up their mode of life usually know where to apply for help. Any police officer in the street will supply the necessary information", and other replies make the same remark. Voluntary agencies in the Netherlands state that the agencies working in this field are generally known and any woman or girl can easily get in touch with them.

Since this is the general opinion, it would be interesting to discover how often prostitutes themselves apply for help. Both in Austria and Yugoslavia, prostitutes are said to consult the police freely for assistance and advice. The United Kingdom, Polish and Swedish answers state that applications for help sometimes come from the women themselves. One welfare organisation in Germany writes that, in many cases, prostitutes report at the refuges of charitable organisations; another states that in towns where the work is well established, the facilities for refuge are so well known that prostitutes "can find their way to us themselves, and that does actually happen".

As this last quotation suggests, however, it is probably only the minority who take the initiative themselves. In Belgium, although notices are posted in prisons and work-houses, prostitutes rarely apply to associations of their own accord; a reply from a voluntary association in Denmark also states that it is extremely rare for any prostitutes to enquire about admission to a home for a long stay. In Uruguay, as stated above, prostitutes about to be registered are asked to call at the offices of a welfare agency. It is

¹ From the reply sent by the Uruguayan branch of the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.

said that they rarely do. This may be because at the time when they apply to be registered they have almost certainly been prostitutes for some time. The Malayan reply states that adult women cannot under the law be committed to a Po Leung Kuk home. " They are welcome if they apply voluntarily for admission, but the number so applying is negligible." In Canada also, the number of women who seek out the social services themselves " is and always will be extremely small. The service must seek out the woman and attempt to arouse within her the wish for another type of life, with a promise of assistance, equipment, care and, finally, placement. If a woman really desired to change her mode of life, she would know where to apply ". The Czechoslovak reply states that prostitutes rarely ask for help. Some do, however, at the end of the autumn, because they wish to find shelter. The number of applications falls in the spring.

CLASSIFICATION OF CASES

The answers to the questionnaires show that nearly everywhere there is an elementary classification of the women to be assisted. Pregnant women are sent to separate homes, the diseased and the mentally deficient receive special treatment and often adults and minors are treated in different institutions or under different regulations. But beyond these almost inevitable distinctions (and sometimes also a separation according to religion), little is done in most countries to sort out the different classes and types of women until they actually enter an institution.

Replies from a few countries show that there are exceptions to this rule. In the United Kingdom, for instance, there is said to be more classification than formerly; when necessary, women can be referred to specialised agencies. Probation departments in large cities in the United States investigate the history, social surroundings and sometimes the psychology of convicted women in order to discover the best treatment. Two other answers also make interesting comments. The Copenhagen Chief of Police suggests that an enquiry should be made to discover if it is necessary to place prostitutes who suffer from certain defects under observation in order to decide what kind of rehabilitation measures should be applied in the interest of the person concerned or of the community. A voluntary association in Poland is so convinced of the importance of preliminary classification that it has planned to set up stations where prostitutes would be kept long enough to give them a rest and to have them observed by specialised lady doctors and pedagogic experts. From there, the

women would be passed on to special establishments (for the abnormal, the sick, the pregnant, etc.), to voluntary workhouses to receive moral and vocational training, and, finally, to collective or individual workshops where they would be helped by social guardians acting in co-operation with the directors of the workhouses.

Whatever the advantages of this preliminary sorting, it is still comparatively rare. Probably, in most countries, there are not enough institutions which accept prostitutes for them to be able to specialise still further nor enough prostitutes who apply to make classification necessary. The greater part of the classification which exists at present takes place within the institutions themselves. They offer every variation; on the one hand, the prophylactoria in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Polish homes of labour where the conditions of life are the same for all the inmates; on the other, institutions possessing their own psychiatrist who examines the women and decides the course of training they should follow.

The institutions which make no distinction at all between their inmates seem to be in the minority. Besides those mentioned above, associations in India and Switzerland state that no classification is made or that the classification of prostitutes is extremely difficult. It is more usual, however, to find that the women are divided according to their behaviour, possibilities of rehabilitation or standards of education, and sometimes, too, according to their state of health or capacity for work. In the opinion of those in charge of the Salvation Army, it is also "useful to classify according to the social standing of the women".¹

Many Catholic homes have quite an elaborate system of classification according to merit. A home in Belgium has

¹ International Social Council Addresses (Part II), "The Women's Social Work", by Mrs. Booth (The Salvation Army, 1912).

an observation section where the women are examined and the causes which led them into prostitution are studied. The social, medical, pedagogical and psychological aspects of the problem all receive attention, in order that the proper scientific and educational treatment can be given. Moreover, all the women are kept under observation during their stay and even after they have left. The home is divided into four departments and when she leaves the observation section, the woman is sent to one of these. They are the departments for (1) the deeply depraved, (2) those capable of reform, (3) the reformed and (4) the department of semi-freedom. Obstinate depraved cases are sent to other institutions. In an institute in Czecho-Slovakia, each woman, on entry, undergoes a medical and psychiatric examination. Each is classified, educated and trained according to the specification of the psychiatrist.

To sum up, there seems to be a growing opinion that prostitutes who apply for assistance should be classified and that this classification should be founded on the observations of a trained psychiatrist. This practice would probably prove of even greater value as a means of preventing prostitution.

A compulsory psychiatric examination might, of course, bring with it its own dangers. A report presented to the Advisory Committee on Social Questions by Mme. Avril de Sainte-Croix pointed out that errors are often made when girls in a state of nervous exhaustion are subjected to scientific tests. It is essential that they should have time to rest and to recover some strength.

“ It would . . . be extremely dangerous to attempt, at the time of their arrest or arrival at the home, to place these women and girls into strictly defined categories—normal, defective, abnormal, etc., after a rapid examination, without taking into account the life they had led during the months, weeks or days preceding, . . . the influences they had undergone and the accidental and temporary nature of the resulting loss of balance.”

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

(i) SOME TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS

It is now intended to describe some rehabilitation institutions, and the methods they employ. They are either institutions managed by societies with branches in several countries—"Good Shepherd", Salvation Army, "Houses of Bethany"—or institutions which have some particular interest, such as the "Conde de Agrolongo" Institute and the "Abri Dauphinois" at Grenoble. The prophylactoria in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which should find a place in this section, have already been described in the booklet on "Social Services and Venereal Disease".¹ No attempt is made to give a complete picture of the rehabilitation institutions existing in the different countries which have contributed to this report.

The description of individual institutions will be followed by an account of the general characteristics of institutional training as shown by the answers to the questionnaire.

(a) CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS ²

The "Good Shepherd" Institute.

A characteristic type of Roman Catholic rehabilitation institution is to be found in the "Good Shepherd" Insti-

¹ Document C.6.M.5 1938.IV.

² The description of the work of Catholic organisations in the field of rehabilitation, contained in this chapter, is chiefly based on a report submitted to the Traffic in Women and Children Committee by the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues in 1935. This report, established in collaboration with

tute, with its two branches, the Institut de Notre Dame de Charité du Bon Pasteur d'Angers, and the Institut de Notre Dame de Charité du Refuge. This institution, of French origin, dating back to the middle of the seventeenth century, now has ramifications in all quarters of the globe, and its various houses have taken advantage, in so far as their funds allowed, of the most recent technical improvements, as regards both internal equipment and methods of work.

The " Good Shepherd " Institute of Angers now possesses upwards of 300 houses, grouped into 34 Provinces : 133 houses in Europe; 71 in South America; 66 in North America; 15 in Asia; 10 in Africa; 9 in Oceania, 6 in Central America; 3 in the Malay Archipelago.

Between 1829 and 1925, the Institutes admitted 565,000 women and girls in need of rehabilitation, 2,401,985 prisoners and 249,500 children or girls requiring protection.

Between July 1829 and July 1929, the " mother house " at Angers opened its doors to 6,671 girls or women in need of rehabilitation, 800 prisoners and 2,996 girls requiring protection.

Notre Dame de la Charité du Refuge has 7 houses in France and 27 distributed among the following countries : Italy, Ireland, England, Spain, Austria, America. These two branches together group about 15,000 nuns who have dedicated their lives to the safeguarding and rehabilitation of women and girls.

In every " Good Shepherd " house, a distinction must be made between two quite separate classes :¹ the " petite

the International Catholic Association for the Protection of Young Girls, is a summary of documentation received from those various religious congregations and organisations which concern themselves specially with the re-education and rehabilitation of minors and adult women. The information has been regrouped and, in some cases, amended by material received from other sources by the League Secretariat.

¹ The nuns of the " Good Shepherd " refer to the class of persons requiring rehabilitation as the " grande classe "

classe ", consisting of those requiring to be safeguarded; the " grande classe ", consisting of girls in need of rehabilitation.

A large number of the persons received by the " Good Shepherd " are minors; but although in many houses the age-limit is fixed in principle at 21 years, the limit is extended as a rule to 22, 25, 30 or even 40 years. In fact, any adult who applies voluntarily for admission to the " grande classe " has to be received. Their educational object is in every case the re-adaptation to social life of the persons who are entrusted to them or who may present themselves of their own accord. Persons who have attained their majority are offered situations suited to their attainments and presenting the necessary moral guarantees; but the persons admitted can remain in the house as long as they wish.

In addition to the " Good Shepherd " establishments, there are the re-educational institutions in Belgium; in particular, the Institut Sainte Madeleine, at Auderghem, Brussels, and the Institut de Ste. Marguerite de Cortone, at Antwerp.

In other countries, the orders in question are, in Poland, the Congregation of Our Lady of Mercy; in Spain, the Congregación de las Religiosas Adoradoras and the Hermanas Trinitarias, who are also found in the Argentine and in Venezuela; in Italy, the Congregation of Sisters of Charity, the Nuns of Sainte Marie-Madeleine, etc.

Mention should also be made of the recent foundation of the Opera del Magnificat, at Turin, which receives, irrespective of age, on discharge from hospital, women who have been suffering from venereal disease. This institution also opens its doors to the former inmates of licensed brothels.

It is impossible to enumerate all the Orders which come under this heading. In France, more than ten

different Congregations have replied to the enquiry :

Tiers ordre régulier de Saint-Dominique;

Religieuses franciscaines, franciscaines servantes de Marie;

Sœurs de la Charité, Nevers;

Religieuses de la Sainte Famille;

Instituts du Bon Pasteur, Nantes and Orleans (as distinct from the Instituts du Bon Pasteur of Angers and of Notre-Dame de la Charité du Refuge);

Sœurs de Marie-Joseph (" prison sisters ");

Religieuses de Notre-Dame de la Miséricorde, etc.

This last-named institution, due to the initiative of a humble laundress, Thérèse Rondeau, was founded in 1818 at Laval; it is open to any girl who wishes to resume her social place in the world by founding a respectable home. It is neither a reformatory nor a " Good Shepherd " house proper; girls come to it of their own free will, and it is not a closed community. Thus Catholics have constantly concerned themselves with women and girls who are particularly exposed or who have already taken to immoral ways, not only by directing them to orders specially engaged in work of rehabilitation, but by promoting a multitude of private institutions.

The Refuge Sainte-Anne, at Châtillon-sous-Bagneux (near Paris), is a typical example. It was founded in 1854 by Mlle. Chupin, a former inspectress of the Saint Lazare prison, who, after seeing much misery, realised that many young girls succumb simply because no help is given them at the critical moment. The institution to which Mlle. Chupin devoted herself for forty years, and which she handed over in the interests of stability to the Nuns of the Tiers-Ordre de Sainte Dominique, was recognised as a institution of public utility in 1861. Girls are entrusted to it by their families, or benefactors, or come to the refuge of their own accord. In every case, they enter voluntarily and may leave as soon as they wish. During upwards of half a century, 10,000 persons have been received.

These few congregations and private institutions have been mentioned in order to make it clear that, in addition to the specialised orders, such as the " Good Shepherd ", a large number of nuns and lay women are also engaged in the re-education of women and girls.

Funds.

These institutions have been able to develop and modernise their activities by their own often very arduous efforts and by the assistance given them by private charity.

In all the Catholic institutions dealt with in this chapter, the funds may be divided under three heads : subsistence allowances, which are paid for minors either by the authority by whom they were handed over—communes, public relief authorities, prison service, judicial authorities—or by their parents, if the latter possess means, or by children's organisations.¹

¹ Some examples may be given of the subsistence allowances paid by the authorities :

In Belgium, the rate fixed per child per day ranges from 5 francs to 9.20 francs.

In Austria, the figures given were 1 schilling for young children and 1.50 schillings for persons from 14 to 25 years.

In Poland, the municipal relief pays, for a certain number, from 1 zloty to 1.50 zloty per day.

In Switzerland, the communes pay from 1 franc to 2.50 francs per day per child.

In Italy, for all the institutions which replied to the enquiry (in 1930), the daily allowance ranged from 2.50 lire to 5 lire.

In the Netherlands, 1 florin is typical.

In France, 4.50 francs, in a certain number of towns (paid by the judicial authorities), or 2.50 francs to 3 francs, paid by the public relief authorities.

In France, the parents are asked from 30 to 60 francs a month and the various organisations from 80 to 100 francs per month. These allowances are not sufficient to cover the cost of food, clothing or, indeed, sickness. Moreover, this small sum is paid only for a certain number of children, as the parents and even the organisations are often unable to pay. Persons who come of their own free will or decide to remain after their majority pay nothing.

The inadequacy of the allowances has to be made up for to a large extent by the work of the nuns and the inmates themselves. Organised on rational lines, this work may pay quite well—laundry work, for example—but part of the proceeds are set aside as savings, and the women and girls are given an outfit when they leave.

Additional contributions must therefore be asked for, in the form of Government subsidies, given, as a rule temporarily, in the form of grants.

Private charity supplies the balance and indeed often contributes the largest part.

Methods of Re-education.

The replies of the institutes contain an account of methods of re-education. They are all on much the same lines. In the best organised houses, there is, first, a separate observation section, in which new arrivals have to remain for about two months. After prolonged examination, the woman is placed in one of three categories: naturally depraved, capable of reform, reformed. At the Sainte-Marguerite de Cortone Institute, at Antwerp, for instance, the reformed are gradually brought back to freedom by being placed at a home of semi-freedom separated from the Institute by the whole length of the garden. These girls work in town, leaving the home in the morning and returning at midday and in the evening. They are affiliated to trade unions and fulfil all the ordinary social duties. Some attend evening classes. They all pay a small sum for board and lodging. Obstinate depraved cases are sent to the State establishments of St. Servais, at Namur, or the Section for Disorderly Female Inmates, at Bruges. Almost all institutes that group their inmates not according to age but according to moral standing, classify the girls and women to be re-educated along such lines, though not quite so methodically as at the Institute at Antwerp mentioned above (reports from the Netherlands, from the "Good

Shepherd ", at Rome, the Monastery of Notre-Dame du Refuge, at Chevilly, France, the Dominican Nuns, at Châtillon-sous-Bagneux, France).

Principle of Individual Treatment.

Thus, from the outset, the whole work of re-education is based on the principle of treating each woman as a separate individual.

" Each case must become an entirely separate entity. It must be dealt with through its own personality. . . . Each case comes to see that she is a human individual recognised and cared for as such. She begins to become conscious of her personal dignity and her possibilities." (Reply from Belgium.)

This acquisition or recovery of a consciousness of personal dignity would seem to be the most effective means of all in the work of re-education. " The one essential thing ", writes a nun of the " Good Shepherd " concerning her charges, " is to restore their self-respect ".

Another woman educator writes : " The girls come to us with such broken hearts, often after being cast off by those who deceived them, that they can hardly believe that anyone can still take a sincere interest in them; they believe themselves no longer good for anything. It is essential therefore to recreate their self-esteem and persuade them that they possess resources hitherto unknown to themselves. Working on these lines, veritable transformations have been wrought. . . ." (Reply of Notre Dame de Charité du Refuge, France.)

Adequate Standard of Living.

In order that they may regain a consciousness of their dignity as human beings, every effort is made to place these girls and women in a physically and morally healthy atmosphere. In the first place, they are provided with reasonable comfort. " The surroundings produce a reflex

within them . . . they acquire a consciousness of their personal dignity. We consider it essential that their surroundings should be not only scrupulously clean but even in good taste." (Report from the "Good Shepherd", France.)

One of the replies points out that "extreme poverty leads to a rebellious outlook on life" (report of the "Good Shepherd" of Villars-des-Joncs, Switzerland); all agree that comfort should be "moderate, adapted to the young woman's social status, the sort of comfort that she would enjoy in a respectable family" of her own class. "This rule is based on the wisdom acquired by experience; luxury might create the danger of transforming a prostitute into a luxurious hetaera."

The instructions which the foundress of the Angers Institute gave to her nuns make it abundantly clear that, although their slender resources may oblige certain convents to establish restrictions which they themselves deplore, these restrictions do not form part of a system. "We order you", wrote Mother Pelletier, "never . . . to give the 'children' unpalatable food or cold food, or to allow them to remain without heating in winter. . . ."

At the "Good Shepherd" houses, each "class" is housed as far as possible in a building separated from the others by large courtyards or gardens. Refectories and classrooms are light and airy. Though most of the exteriors are severe, when once the threshold has been crossed—the aspect suddenly changes.

Physical development is not forgotten. The "Good Shepherd" convent at Turin does not disdain, in its reply, to mention, besides the gold medal received for its embroidery work and the diploma for "La redenzione sociale" bestowed on its directress, the honours and prizes won in gymnastic competitions.

Provision is made for a health and medical service—bathrooms and shower-baths play their proper part. Certain Belgian houses, for instance, are remarkably well

equipped in this respect. The Sainte Marguerite de Cortone Institute at Antwerp has a special laboratory attached to the observation section, with two qualified psychiatric practitioners, a laboratory for general medicine and, more particularly, for venereal disease. Treatment, which is fully adequate for all cases, is given by two certificated nurses, one religious, the other lay.

Family Atmosphere.

The moral atmosphere is perhaps of even greater importance than a certain degree of physical comfort. The homes endeavour to create a family atmosphere, the lack of which in the girls' own home has often been the determining factor in their fall. For instance, the girls are divided into groups, which form a collective body composed of "families", and this system aids rehabilitation (reply from the " Good Shepherd " at Angers).

The reply from Canada sums up a point found in all the other reports: " disciplined family life in peaceful surroundings ". The life must not be monotonous, or lead to introspection. Consequently, singing as an effective psychological aid is deemed to be necessary from the standpoint of development and of education. " It is astonishing what a part hearty and happy song may play in the creation of a new mentality." (Reply of the " Good Shepherd ", France.)

Formation of Will-power.

The influence of surroundings alone cannot suffice. The young woman must herself take an active part in her own re-education.

Impressionable, weak-minded persons, who are often very docile throughout their stay in the home, almost invariably relapse into their old ways on leaving the institution, unless it has been possible to develop their will-power. The main agent in this direction is work. " For

vigorous natures, which need bodily exercise, laundry-work is an excellent occupation, providing both movement and variety of work in washing, mangling and ironing. The less sturdy can do ordinary sewing, fine embroidery or mending by the latest methods. . . . The imagination of others is stimulated, and an outlet is provided for their individual talents, by the making of dainty underwear, or even by certain branches of art. A young woman's taste and physical aptitude are given due weight in the general effort to ensure her moral welfare." (Reply from the " Good Shepherd ", France.)

Machinery is being increasingly used. Chevilly and Toulouse have their model laundries. Cannes has machines for embroidery, scalloping and hemstitching, worked by an electric motor. Those machines, without fatiguing the worker, produce work which is very pretty and greatly interests the young women. Some monasteries have printing works.

A whole range of local industries—such as boot- and shoe-making, mattress-making, silk shawl fringes, and the glove industry in the Lyons region—provide variations from the usual type of work.

Regularity of work helps to create orderly habits. Constant effort devoted to a " progressive but always adequate " task gradually strengthens the will-power.

In many cases, this regularity of occupation has helped women to keep a hold on themselves after they have returned to normal and healthy life. " In spite of a fixed time-table, work should nevertheless, particularly among the older charges, stimulate a sense of initiative—they should, for example, be entrusted with small responsible tasks—for girls destined to become mothers should learn to calculate, exercise foresight and order their lives, using all their intelligence and goodwill to these aims."

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Education.

To achieve this result, mechanical habits will not suffice. An endeavour is therefore made to lead these young women to reflect and think for themselves. The illiterate are taught to read and write. Others, with a slightly better education, are required to make a mental effort—for instance, they are asked to write short accounts of lectures they have heard. Sometimes indeed (for instance, at the Sainte Marguerite de Cortone Institute) all the lessons, very suitably devised to provide those intellectual and practical attainments which the young women will need in life, are grouped around some suitably chosen central theme, such as: "One day you will be a wife and a mother." The young woman is then taught, in a manner adapted to her circumstances, the origin of family life, what marriage means, how to organise a home, etc. Another series of lessons is grouped round the theme "Young women: Their work at home, occupations for women, the young woman's intellectual life, moral life, choice of books", etc.

The Religious Factor.

The psychological methods applied in the "Good Shepherd" homes cannot be properly understood if emptied of their spiritual content. The religious atmosphere pervading these homes is an essential factor in bringing peace of mind. Furthermore, the moral training, solidly grounded on religious principles, remains, even when the young woman has left these religious surroundings.

Importance of Educator's Personality.

The personality of the educator is of capital importance in the work of re-education. The success of rehabilitation depends, particularly at the beginning, on the degree of mutual confidence which can be established between her and the young women. The success of a rehabilitation

home may largely depend on the personal influence of some lady superintendent or teacher. The traditional methods of the " Good Shepherd " homes, in particular, their strict but maternal discipline, widely adaptable to meet varying situations, are the result of an experience which all educators might in many respects study with profit.

For the improvement of educational methods and their adaptation to modern needs, nuns frequently seek the aid of women inspectors or social welfare workers better acquainted than they with the affairs of the outside world. This collaboration has proved to be particularly useful in the guidance of women who require rehabilitation.

Results.

The proportion of cases which, it is estimated, have been reformed and have become useful members of the community varies on an average from 25 % to 70 %.

The continuance of good conduct obviously depends on the duration of the rehabilitation period—which should not be less than two or three years—on the influence brought to bear and on the woman's surroundings on leaving the home.

A progressive system of liberty on probation and the organisation of rehabilitation homes and welfare centres conducted on freer lines to which former pupils voluntarily return, have already produced good results.

The methods which have succeeded with the ordinary inmates of the " Good Shepherd " homes have also proved their value in the case of prostitutes.¹ Women received into the " Good Shepherd " and other homes have included and still include prostitutes and even former inmates of

¹ The International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues states that the " Congregation of the Good Shepherd ", which has hitherto not felt itself able to admit women suffering from venereal disease, in 1936, contemplated taking steps to ensure that henceforth treatment should be available in two of its homes.

licensed brothels. In the opinion of the majority of the Catholic organisations, the methods which usually prove successful with minors need intelligent adaptation and more elastic application for the rehabilitation of prostitutes.

In many cases, weak-minded or unintelligent women ask to remain all their lives in the home which has received them and continues to protect them; but among those who do not wish to return to ordinary life we find a small *élite*—women who either desire to pass on to others the benefits they have themselves received by aiding the nuns in their work of re-education without, however, taking vows, or who seek higher perfection in a full religious life. For this latter category, the “ Good Shepherd ” Organisation has founded a special congregation governed by nuns of the “ Good Shepherd ”.

“ *Bethany* ”.¹

There are only a few “ Houses of Bethany ” and the number of women who have entered them for rehabilitation during a period of more than a hundred years is not very large. The following full description may therefore seem out of proportion with the quantity of work done, but it is not disproportionate to its interest and its originality.

The task of this study is to describe the work of the Dominican nuns of Bethany and the rules governing it, not to give a full account of the religious aspect. But it must first of all be stated that “ Bethany ” is founded on the ideas of the redemption of sin and the imitation of Christ. The system is only an attempt to create the necessary framework for this spiritual endeavour.

The first “ House of Bethany ” was founded in 1866 by Father R. T. Lataste, of the Order of St. Dominic. The Dominican Sisters of Bethany constitute to-day a separate

¹ The information in this section has been drawn chiefly from “ *Béthanie : Les Madeleines réhabilitées* ”, by the Réverend Father DE BOISSIEU.

diocesan congregation. Apart from the observance of the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, common to all the Catholic orders, the special aim of this congregation according to its constitution is "the rehabilitation of released women prisoners and the moral regeneration of those who have acted wrongly and dishonourably without undergoing imprisonment. The congregation gives the means of persevering and growing in virtue to all who are genuinely converted through repentance and the love of God; to those who may have a religious vocation, it offers the opportunity of advancing by stages to the point of making their profession."

The congregation therefore accepts all ex-convicts who come of their own accord and are willing to remain there for the rest of their lives, but "Bethany" addresses itself, not only to ex-convicts, but also to other women who have led lives outside or counter to society.

The Dominican Nuns of Bethany have always been allowed to visit women's prisons, though the number of these visits has occasionally been subject to regulations; they go from cell to cell and inform the prisoners that on release they may, if they wish, enter the "Bethany" houses; sometimes prostitutes come of their own accord to seek admission. Women are welcomed from the ages of 16 to 35; other women are, however, often admitted. Where a minor has voluntarily sought admission, enquiries are made as to who exercises paternal authority over her, and arrangements are made to obtain this person's consent. The nuns never agree to receive women with children permanently; the women are given to understand that their first duty is to bring up their children, and they are directed to institutions that are able to assist them in this task. It not infrequently happens that many years later, when the children are grown up, the mothers return and seek admission to the "Bethany" house which could not accept them so long as their maternal duties remained unfulfilled.

As the extract from the constitution has shown, the chief characteristic of the work of "Bethany" is the gradual assimilation of the rehabilitated woman to the rehabilitant. Ex-convicts or ex-prostitutes entering a "House of Bethany" of their own free will are taken from the beginning into an atmosphere of family life.

If they feel the urge of a religious vocation and if they are considered worthy, they can raise themselves to the dignity of a Dominican sister, and neither in duties, position nor dress will they be in any way different from the other sisters of the congregation.¹ This can be accomplished after they have spent five years in the convent, after very strict tests and a very severe probationary period. The woman is an "aspirant" for one year, a "little sister" for three years and a "postulant" for one year. The practical reason for this five-year period is that the police authorities are entitled to keep ex-convicts under supervision for five years and it seemed to the founders of "Bethany" quite out of the question that a woman wearing the dress of a Dominican sister should be under police supervision.

It is evident that this vocation is only destined for women of exceptional strength of character. Those who do not feel that they can follow the vocation and who do not want to remain "little sisters" living in the community without becoming nuns, can leave at any time. Others who have

¹ There is only one serious departure from the general rule of fully assimilating the rehabilitated woman who has taken the vows to rehabilitants of the same rank. It is formally recommended to the Mother Superiors of the convents not to promote the rehabilitated to tasks giving them authority over other persons before they enjoy the right of vote in the convent, which is eighteen years after they have taken their first vows. As to the even more delicate question of the possibility of the election of a rehabilitated woman to the highest position of Mother Superior, she must possess the right to be elected, which for previous "little sisters" is given twenty-five years after having taken the first vows; moreover, the case has to be submitted for special authorisation to the Holy See.

not been able to adapt themselves to the austere atmosphere of the place are asked to leave the community.

"Bethany", however, does not relinquish such women to their fate, but attempts to place them in occupations giving them moral and material safeguards against a return to their former lives.

Some Characteristics of the Methods of "Bethany".

The life in a "Bethany" house shows a number of characteristic traits which shed light on the methods in force.

(a) The general rule in convents lays down that every novice must bring with her a dowry and a trousseau. Exemption is only granted in very special circumstances. It is characteristic of "Bethany", which tries to eliminate the difficulties confronting the rehabilitated woman, that this rule is waived for the rehabilitated in their convents and they are admitted to the novitiate without dowry and without trousseau.

(b) If a rehabilitated woman, in the course of her postulate or novitiate,¹ finds the religious life too austere, she is allowed to resume the habit of a "little sister" and to return to the group in which she has been living for several years. In order to safeguard the sensibilities of the woman, who must feel that she has failed in following a higher vocation, she is sent to another house of the congregation.

(c) Great care is taken to cut the woman off entirely from her past. This is done not only by the dress she wears, which is entirely indistinguishable to the outside world from that of a rehabilitant, but by the fact that her past is known to nobody inside the convent but herself and the Mother Superior.

¹ Aspirants are the future "little sisters", postulants the future nuns.

(d) In contrast with any other rehabilitation home or institution, there is no separation between the rehabilitants and the rehabilitated inside the house, except for those rules in force in all convents, which are prescribed by the Pontifical Law, and which are due to difference in the rank of the inmates. Recreation is taken in common, and there is no isolated quarter for the "little sisters"—*i.e.*, the rehabilitated.

"Bethany" is a daring attempt to carry to its logical conclusion the Christian conception that the repentant sinner may aspire to a higher level than the innocent. The juxtaposition of those who have never known the world and those who have fallen victims to temptation, and the fact that the repentant sinner can rise higher in the world of "Bethany" than those who have never gone astray, constitutes one of the most courageous spiritual experiments ever attempted. It has much in common with the most modern attempts in the most progressive lay institutions, which also try to raise the rehabilitated above her original station in life. "Bethany" has realised the highest aim of any attempt at rehabilitation.

(e) It would be tempting to show, in a comparative study, likenesses between the methods used in "Bethany" and those in force in the most representative of the other Catholic institutions, for instance, the "Good Shepherd" homes. There is the same attempt to restore the self-respect of the woman to be rehabilitated. There is a similar, if not identical, emphasis upon the importance of work.¹ There is the same type of discipline which aims rather at the voluntary discipline of a family than that of a penitentiary.

More interesting, however, than the links of "Bethany" with the older Catholic institutions are the new departures

¹ The founder of "Bethany", whilst appreciating the importance of work, has warned his collaborators against neglecting spiritual duties for the sake of work.

which it has made. The most important is, of course, the abolition of distinctions between the rehabilitants and the rehabilitated. Whereas nuns in the "Good Shepherd" homes, as a Catholic writer puts it, are the superiors of the rehabilitated women; in "Bethany", they are their "sisters", their equals and may even become their inferiors in rank. Smaller divergences are due to differences in aim: the one aiming at training the woman for the outside world and the other for a higher religious vocation. This explains, for instance, why there is, in "Bethany", no classification of cases.

Proportion of Rehabilitants to Rehabilitated.

An institution of the character of a "Bethany" house must establish a proportion between rehabilitants and the rehabilitated, in order to safeguard its tradition and its essential character. The proportion established is in force for all the houses and can only be altered by a special dispensation. It is as follows:

	Choir sisters	Lay sisters
Rehabilitators	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2} + 1$
Rehabilitated	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2} - 1$

The congregation had, in 1931, four houses in France and one in Belgium¹ (the Convent of Venlo established in the Netherlands does not form part of the Congregation of St. Mary Magdalene, but constitutes an autonomous and separate branch run on the same lines as the houses of the congregation).

The following figures show, not only the number of persons comprised in the Congregation of St. Mary Magdalene, but also the proportion of rehabilitated to rehabilitants, and the percentage of rehabilitated who take the religious vows.

¹ In 1939, the Dominican nuns of Bethany had two houses in Belgium, one at Sart Risbart and one at Lint.

The position on January 1st, 1929, was as follows :

Rehabilitated : 576 aspirants had received the dress of " little sister " ; 225 had left after having become " little sisters " ; 71 had become nuns—*i.e.*, one-fifth of the " little sisters " who remained in the Convent.

Rehabilitants : 180 choir sisters; 96 lay or auxiliary sisters—*i.e.*, a total of 276 nuns.

To this figure have to be added twenty-six choir sisters coming from the ranks of the rehabilitated and forty-five lay sisters who had been rehabilitated—*i.e.*, seventy-one.

The total of the nuns belonging to the Congregation of St. Mary Magdalene is 347; the proportion of rehabilitated having become choir sisters, one-seventh; the proportion of rehabilitated lay sisters, one-half minus six; for the whole of the nuns, the proportion of the rehabilitated to the rehabilitants is one-fifth plus eight.

" Conde de Agrolongo " Institute.

The Institut Conde de Agrolongo was founded by " Resgate ", a feminine association which has the task of " morally and technically re-educating girls in moral danger, especially minors ". The institute, however, admits women of all ages. Only women are admitted who of themselves, and without any compulsion, manifest a wish to become inmates. Under certain circumstances, girls sent by the authorities are also received in the institute. The inmates undertake to stay in the institute as long as the management judges it necessary from the point of view of their moral and vocational training, even if they have attained their majority.

The fundamental aim of this institute is to prepare the pupils for a normal life after the completion of their training. The method therefore consists in the progressive adaptation

of the inmates to normal life. The official monograph of the institute describes it as follows :

“ In order to obtain a more or less accurate idea of the moral progress of the inmates of the institution, the authorities try to bring them into touch with other members of society, still keeping them under supervision but without exercising any constraint.

“ Parents and relations can visit pupils on the days fixed by the authorities.

“ Once the first period of strict supervision is over and the pupil has given clear evidence of good behaviour, she is entrusted, by way of trial, with duties involving a certain amount of responsibility. She may be placed, for instance, in charge of some particular piece of work, or given the task of supervising some of her companions or acting as door-keeper; she is allowed to go out for walks or to go to market or go shopping, etc., under the charge of some responsible person.

“ When they have reached the final stage, pupils may be sent out alone on errands by the principal. They may, by way of trial, be allowed to go and spend a short time at home or, if they have no family, with some reliable individual. By means of these progressive tests, the principal obtains an idea of how the pupils are getting on from a moral point of view and can correct any slight faults that may still be noticeable.”

Apart from rare exceptions, the women entering the institute are illiterate. They receive primary and, wherever their individual faculties allow, higher education. They receive instruction in singing, gymnastics, personal hygiene, as well as in housekeeping. The institute therefore prepares its inmates either for domestic professions or for any particular occupation for which they show special preference or aptitude, such as nursing, dressmaking, millinery, floristry, shorthand, etc.; in some cases, applied art, horticulture, etc. There is regular medical inspection of all the inmates. In spite of great difficulties, it has been possible to send out some of the inmates to sanatoria.

A special problem is constituted by abnormal inmates. Contrary to the practice of most other institutions, the Institut Conde de Agrolongo does not refuse them, but

has reserved for them a department where they are dealt with by different methods from the normal one. A department is also reserved for girls and women from higher strata of society who wish to enter the institute. Special training is given to those women.

The institute does not consider its mission completed with the re-adaptation of women to normal life. It makes a special effort to find for ex-inmates situations giving every guarantee from the moral point of view. In case of unemployment, previous inmates are allowed to return to the institute until they find a new employment. In case of marriage, the institute helps in the preparation of their trousseau, and in the arrangement of their future home.

Up to October 1931, 104 women of different ages had passed through the institute since its foundation at the end of 1923; the majority, however, were minors. The report states that not all the women stayed long enough in the institute for complete rehabilitation, and that a certain number could not submit to the discipline of the house. Others were recalled by their parents or other persons belonging to the family, and a certain number appeared to be incorrigible and had to be sent away.

(b) PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONS ¹

*The Work of the Salvation Army.*²

Prostitutes who apply to the Salvation Army for assistance are generally admitted to a receiving home, from

¹ Whilst the Catholic rehabilitation work is referred to as Catholic work by the reporting organisations, a great part of the Protestant work is not specifically mentioned as such. The work of the Salvation Army is, of course, Protestant, as is also the work of the International Federation for Aid to Young Women, which is fully dealt with in the next chapter. Moreover, a great deal of other voluntary work mentioned in the report, especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries, was started or is being carried out by Protestant organisations.

² This section follows closely a report submitted by the inter-

which they are restored to their friends, passed on to the industrial homes or helped in some other way. They may, however, be admitted directly into the industrial homes (all of which are organised especially for their assistance) or to the hostels for young working women, clerks, etc., established by the Salvation Army. In accordance with the general practice, women are not allowed to remain in these hostels if they are leading an immoral life. Prostitutes are also admitted temporarily to the "Quarters of the Midnight Rescue Officers", where rooms are always in readiness for them. Unless a prostitute is an expectant mother she is not admitted to the homes for unmarried mothers. In the words of the Salvation Army, "unmarried mothers are not prostitutes", a point of view shared to-day by practically all the social workers of the world.

Length of Stay in the Homes.

No hard and fast rule governs the length of a stay in the industrial homes.

The orders and regulations state :

"The warden will decide when each woman will pass out of the home. The women should be made to understand that all arrangements are made in their interest and that they will be passed out as soon as such a course is deemed advisable. No absolute rule can be made as to the woman's tarry in the home, which should not, except as otherwise arranged, be more than six and not less than three months. If, during this time, the influence upon her is kept at 'white heat', probably all that can be reasonably expected will be done for her, and with such subsequent supervision as is arranged for in those orders she will be fitted for a fresh start in life. When, in any particular case, a longer term in the home is deemed necessary . . . the period set forth in the preceding sub-paragraph may be extended, but not beyond twelve months in all, except by consent of the Commissioner."

national headquarters of the Salvation Army in September 1938, in reply to a special questionnaire sent to the Army to obtain information on this work.

From this, it will be seen that the length of time which the Salvation Army considers sufficient for rehabilitation is rather less than that given by most of the other specialists in this work.

After-care.

The particular circumstances of each woman are considered in detail directly the officers of the Salvation Army come into touch with her and find that she is willing to be helped. If she is estranged from her family, efforts towards reconciliation are made. Wherever possible and desirable, the Salvation Army attempts first to restore the girl or woman to her home and family.

Prostitutes are admitted into the Army's industrial homes on condition that they are willing to stay as long as the matrons consider advisable and that they will afterwards go into the domestic situations found for them by the Army.

In order to keep the women mindful of what they have been taught during their stay, the Salvation Army has a highly-organised system of after-care for all who have passed through its homes. Girls who have passed satisfactorily through the homes are known to the officers as "associates". They are encouraged to regard the institutions as a real home and to turn to the officers for advice or guidance in any difficulty or trial. Special accommodation, which often includes bedrooms, is set apart for "associates". They spend much of their free time at the home. They are also visited in their situations by the officers and thousands of personal letters of encouragement and advice are sent from the industrial homes to the "associates" every year.

Many of those who leave the homes for an occupation become Salvationists. They are introduced to the officer commanding the nearest Salvation Army Evangelistic Centre, known as the "corps", of which they become ordinary members. No reference is ever made to their

past life and no distinction is made between them and other members of the corps. Many previous prostitutes who have become members of the corps take an active part in its public services. This attitude towards the past is a characteristic of the Salvation Army which it shares with the houses of "Bethany", described in a previous section.

Personal Interest.

Intimate talks with each woman sometimes show that a special method must be devised to meet her peculiar needs. Any problems which are troubling her must if possible be dealt with. She may have a child to support; the officer who introduces her will assure her of the Army's willingness to help her and her child. The Army's Children's Aid Department will approach the father of the child and secure, on the mother's behalf, his contribution to its support, if necessary by means of legal procedure. If the woman is in undesirable lodgings, steps are taken to make it possible for her to leave them in an honourable manner. If she is in debt, the officer will see that the debt is *bona fide* and not merely an attempt to extort money. If it is genuine, an officer will see the persons concerned and endeavour to gain time to make the necessary arrangements for payment. The Salvation Army organisation, in its own words, "while closely woven, is always elastic and is devised to help individuals, not groups".

Characteristics of the Industrial Homes.

The industrial homes are, as a rule, large, detached dwelling-houses, with nothing of the institution in their appearance. They are cheerful and airy, usually surrounded by their own grounds, which sometimes afford opportunity for the women to work amongst flowers and vegetables and frequently to take suitable recreation in the open without being overlooked. There is never any sign describing the home beyond a neat brass plate on the door

with the words, " The Salvation Army Industrial Home ". Any expression such as " rescue ", " penitentiary ", " Magdalen ", is always avoided.

The rooms are arranged to give the greatest comfort to the women as well as convenience in the management of the home. The best and largest rooms are devoted to the women. On each landing, a bedroom which gives command of the women's rooms and the landing is reserved for the use of the officer. The beds of the women and of the officers are of the same character and of good quality. Whenever possible, a separate washstand is provided for each woman. There are no more bolts and locks than are usually found in a well-appointed dwelling-house. In the furnishing arrangements, everything savouring of the institution is avoided and these institutions resemble ordinary homes as far as is possible. Apart from simple directions for the convenience of the women, no printed rules are displayed about the house.

Organisation of Homes and Methods employed.

Each home is under the direction of a resident officer of experience and there are at least six officers to assist her, all of whom live in the home. Each woman is kept under the observation of an officer during the daytime and reasonable oversight is maintained during the night.

The report of the Salvation Army states : " All methods employed aim at securing the woman's co-operation for her deliverance from the practice and power of sin of every kind—not merely from sexual immorality." Any doubts and fears the woman may have on entering the home are, as a rule, quickly dispelled by the confidence manifested by the home Mother when she first crosses its threshold. The women are helped to break away from the evil influence of old companions; they are told of the consequences of their previous life and are given an opportunity to form new habits under the influence of understanding, sympathy and

kindness. They are trained in work which will be likely to assist them to earn a livelihood. "A new centre of interest, full of happy and hopeful associations, is now given to them. They are surrounded by loving thought and are assured that the officers will continue to mother them and watch over their interests after they have left the home. All the methods employed are designed to help them both to understand Christ's salvation and to enter into a personal experience of His grace and power."

Firm but kindly discipline is considered essential. Many of the women have had an unhappy upbringing without any training in self-control or in those principles which are the basis of decent living. Explanations and enforcements of the elements of morality must often, in the opinion of the writer of the report, be repeated over and over again. Personal private interviews with an officer are a valuable means of giving these instructions in an acceptable manner.

Care is taken to avoid all causes of irritation. Officers are expected to enforce obedience by personal influence and moral suasion. Experience shows that, as a rule, the fewer commands laid upon the women the better. Industrious application by the women to the work given them is essential. Every home has a needlework room and various household duties have to be performed as part of the training for domestic service; but the officers are alive to the importance of varying a woman's work as far as possible lest it become irksome to her before she has become accustomed to the discipline of sustained diligence and application.

Proportion of Prostitutes among Inmates.

The proportion of prostitutes or women in danger of becoming prostitutes among the inmates varies very much from country to country. In most of the industrial homes of the Salvation Army, there is a fair proportion of previous prostitutes, but in such countries as Japan, Korea and China, almost all the inmates have come to the home

because they wish to escape from the life of prostitution into which they have fallen, not always by their own choice or with their own consent.

Difference in Treatment of Minors and Adults.

In the words of the report : " The main policy with minors lies, as with adults, in the religious conversion of the individual and in her acceptance of the salvation of Jesus Christ." Wherever possible and expedient, separate homes are established for women and girls who have for a long time practised prostitution or for those in danger of falling into a life of prostitution. No more than fifty girls are accommodated in each girls' home. After-care is organised on the same system as for adult women and is carried on as long as is found necessary.

Countries in which Homes are to be found.

The report of the Salvation Army states that industrial homes exist in the following countries or territories : Union of South Africa, the United States of America, the Argentine, Australia, Belgium, the United Kingdom (also in the West Indies and Ceylon), Brazil, Burma, Canada, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan (including Korea) Netherlands (including the Netherlands Indies), New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

From Salvation Army statistics, it appears that the number of industrial homes, maternity hospitals, etc., for unmarried mothers and girls ¹ throughout the world is 186; the number of women who passed satisfactorily through these homes during the year 1937 alone is 27,265. This figure gives an idea of the importance of the work done by the Salvation Army in this field.

¹ Separate figures for the industrial homes only are not available.

(c) A LAY INSTITUTION

The Abri Dauphinois.

The Abri Dauphinois near Grenoble (France) differs from almost every other rehabilitation institution, in the fact that it is intended especially for adult prostitutes. It is willing to accept minors if no other shelter can be found for them, but this is considered an exception to its general rule, and the great majority of women who have passed through it have, in fact, been adults.

The founding of the Abri Dauphinois was a consequence of the closing of tolerated brothels in Grenoble in 1931. In the following years, the Association dauphinoise pour l'Hygiène morale, which was known to have fought hard for the abolition of the brothels, was often asked for help by former prostitutes. The work of assistance was handled at first solely by the Women's Committee of the association, and with some success. But experience showed that some sort of home or shelter was indispensable and thus the Abri Dauphinois was opened in 1934.

Management and Funds.

The home remains under the management of the Women's Committee (superintended by the Association for Moral Hygiene) and the Committee receives a weekly progress report from the directress of the home. The municipal authorities of some towns pay a small grant towards the maintenance of any of their citizens who are lodged there. Apart from this, the home is financed entirely by voluntary subscriptions, which makes its situation rather precarious : the management hopes eventually to obtain a State grant.

The home itself is in the country, outside Grenoble. It is a two-storied house standing in a garden with flowers and vegetables, a poultry-yard and fruit-trees. The house can accommodate about twenty women, but only nine or ten if each is to have a room to herself, which the manage-

ment considers by far the most satisfactory arrangement. The bedrooms are not all alike, as each woman is allowed to arrange and decorate her room as she chooses, but they, and the whole house, are plainly furnished and show that there has been little money to spare. A directress and a nurse are in charge of the establishment.

It is a rule of the home that the women must be free to come and to leave. Each newcomer must, in fact, write a declaration that she comes of her own free will and that she wishes sincerely to abandon prostitution. The management now make enquiries to discover if possible if these statements are correct, as it was found that the home was sometimes used by women who only wished to stay for a month or two and intended to return to prostitution when they left. It is through doctors and social assistants at clinics that the great majority of the women are told of the home and helped to come there.¹ Some arrive completely destitute, possessing nothing beyond the clothes they are wearing; nearly all have venereal disease and many are ill in other ways as a result of excessive drinking, drugs or physical exhaustion.

After a woman has been a week or a fortnight in the home, the directress fills in a very complete set of forms covering her age, nationality, civil status, her origin, medical and social history, present medical and social condition, character, standard of intelligence and education. This enquiry goes into very great detail. For example, the questions on medical antecedents ask at what age the woman began to walk, at what age she began to talk, what vaccinations she has had, what illnesses, what operations, at what age she had her first sexual experience, with whom, and so

¹ The home does not accept children. But the Association for Moral Hygiene co-operates with the Child Welfare Association, and if any women with babies apply for help it makes arrangements either for them both to be sent to a special home or for the children to be looked after in a *crèche* at Grenoble.

on. The section on social history includes questions on her life as a prostitute, how much she earned, how many clients she usually received, whether she drank with them. The directress considers that if this enquiry were made on arrival the answers given would often be fictitious but that, after a fortnight's stay, most of the women are prepared to speak freely. After the first few days, in fact, she does not find them at all reluctant to confide in her or to speak of their past life; she believes, though, that they very much resent any reference to it among themselves.

Conditions of Life in the Home.

During their stay in the home, all who are well enough are employed in the house, and the various kinds of work—cleaning, cooking, laundry, washing-up—are done by different women each week. Any girls who are fond of animals look after the chickens and rabbits and others sometimes do easy work in the garden; on the whole, though, few have the strength or the inclination to do any outdoor work. The housework starts at eight o'clock and generally takes the morning. There is a rest after lunch till three o'clock and then the women are free to knit, sew or read, as they choose.

The directress considers that it would be difficult to give the majority of the women any more advanced professional training. They are slow learners, partly because of their age, partly because of sickness, and they lack application. They will begin ten different things and leave them all unfinished. Some do sewing or knitting on commission, but the work is so badly paid that they generally find it discouraging. It is impossible for reasons of economy to buy them material and help them to make their own clothes but the directress thinks that this would be a good policy as it would give them a greater personal interest in the work.

At present, the greater part of the women's leisure time is spent in the house and garden. The home has a wireless and a gramophone which are used a great deal. Sometimes there are walks or excursions but these are not easy to arrange as many of the women are not used to long walks or are not strong enough to go far. It is rare for any woman to be allowed into town by herself, although some of the more reliable are occasionally sent shopping or go to the clinic alone. The directress admits that to give them gradually more liberty would develop a sense of responsibility and also accustom them to the life they will return to, but, from unfortunate experiences in the past, she thinks that, on the whole, more harm than good would result. This is interesting because, apart from this restriction, the discipline is not severe.

Do the women enjoy their life in the home? In the opinion of the directress, both "yes" and "no". On the one hand they are very appreciative of the restful life, of the affection offered them and of the fact that they are treated with respect. On the other hand, they suffer from having no money, particularly as they are used to spending a great deal, and at times too they miss the cafés, cinemas and dance-halls to which they are accustomed. The directress wishes it were possible to take them more often to see a film or listen to music, but, at present, this is impossible for reasons of economy.

Length of Stay and After-care.

The length of stay in the home varies between a day and three years. The women who have been poisoned with drugs or alcohol are considered to need about three years to recover their health; many of them never become strong enough again to do hard work. The Women's Committee tries to find employment for those who leave, and in addition a certain number of the members undertake to care for individual women. They write to them or

visit them, help them when they are unemployed or in difficulties, and advance them money for clothes or a journey. The directress also keeps in touch with as many of the former inmates as she can. They are all told that the home is open to them at any time.

Results obtained and Difficulties encountered.

Since this experiment is unique in France, it is interesting to know what success it has achieved. Opinion is unanimous that from the physical point of view its results have been wholly admirable. With rest, open air and good food, the health and strength of all the women improve. From the moral point of view, the success has been, naturally, less complete and is more difficult to measure.

The directress considers, however, that probably about half the women do not return to prostitution. Some make happy marriages, others go back to their homes or find work. She names as the two chief obstacles to rehabilitation the women's own mentality and physical condition and the strong hold which their former associates still possess over them. As far as the first of these is concerned she finds most of the women goodhearted but unstable. Partly owing to ill-health many are nervous, excitable and moody, which makes them difficult to live with; however, they generally improve in this respect the longer they stay. They respond quickly to interest and affection but are easily influenced. Their temperament makes it difficult for them to persevere in uninteresting, badly-paid work and their choice of employment is often limited by physical weakness.

The experience of the home provides evidence of the extraordinary tenacity with which brothel-keepers and *souteneurs* follow up women who have once been prostitutes. They visit them in hospital, try to meet them at their discharge and also to visit them at the home. Some women, who left to work, have returned to the home out

of fright because they had been threatened. Because the women are weak and easily dominated and because the *souteneurs* are able to play on their affections and their fears, the power which they are able to wield is very great.

(ii) GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

It is now generally recognised that both institutional training and outside care can be of service in rehabilitating prostitutes. For most women, however, training in an institution is considered to be the most effective form of re-education. A period of training gives the women time to acquire habits which will help them when they make a new start in life. This preference for institutional care is, of course, strongest when the institution in question is specially adapted for the training of prostitutes. If no special institution is available, individual help may be resorted to. Usually, the answers state that treatment must be adapted to the circumstances of each individual case.

Preference for institutional training is expressed in the answers from Austria, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, despite differences in the social and economic structure and in the religious and philosophical outlook of these countries. In the majority of English-speaking countries, both methods seem to find equal favour.

Opinions differ as to what the character of the institutions should be. Some social workers still advocate strict discipline, while others point out the need for more elastic methods, maintaining that compulsion cannot be applied, and that therefore adult women come to these homes voluntarily or not at all. The real problem is how to combine discipline and liberty in such a way as to make the institution sufficiently attractive for adult prostitutes to enter it voluntarily and to stay there until the end of their training. The solution may be found in a combination of

discipline during the hours devoted to work and education, with comparative freedom outside those hours.

The difficulty has for a long time been felt by everyone concerned in the rehabilitation of prostitutes; as a result, authorities in nearly all countries are in favour of making the homes more unconventional and the lack of liberty less acute. Apart from the homes in which women are expected to stay for life, as in some " Good Shepherd " homes and houses of " Bethany ", nearly all the institutions have evolved or are evolving a system of progressive adaptation to liberty and life in the outside world. This applies equally to the " Agrolongo " Home at Lisbon directed by Franciscan nuns and to the prophylactoria in Soviet Russia, where the system of progressive liberty seems to be carried to its logical conclusion.

Types of Institutions and Methods employed.

Since this study is concerned with the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes, a great number of institutions have not been included. As stated in the introduction to this volume, all the institutions to which minors are sent by the courts have been dealt with by the League of Nations in connection with the study of erring and delinquent minors. There are only a very few rehabilitation institutions for adults only and there are very few homes exclusively intended for prostitutes; the criterion applied for the inclusion of institutions in this study was whether adult prostitutes were received, or whether minors were allowed to remain in the institution after having reached their majority.

There are practically no rehabilitation institutions for adult prostitutes fully financed and run by the authorities. The only outstanding exception is to be found in Soviet Russia where special rehabilitation institutions, the so-called prophylactoria, have been created by the authorities.

Although not State institutions strictly speaking, their general policy is controlled by the People's Commissar for Public Health. These houses, which have been described in the volume on "Social Services and Venereal Disease",¹ do not differentiate between adults and minors.

Nearly all the answers observe that no State institutions for adult prostitutes exist; wherever the answer is not negative, the institution in question was found on investigation to be for minors only, but, in certain cases, women were retained or could stay after having reached their majority. The reason for this lack of institutions for adult prostitutes has been given in the Belgian reply, which states that rehabilitation measures should be accessible to all adult prostitutes who desire to make use of them but that, in actual fact, the large majority refuse to change their way of life. "There is no reason therefore to organise a system of measures of rehabilitation which could be applied to the thousands of registered and non-registered adult prostitutes."

From the answers, it appears that the tendency to treat all the women alike, which was one of the chief drawbacks to institutional life about fifty years ago, is now diminishing. The times have gone by when prostitutes entering an institution were automatically taught needlework (the practical value of which has very much decreased with the progress of machinery) or laundry work, which for many years was considered the most suitable occupation for prostitutes and which at that time may have been profitable to the institution.

Modern psychiatric and psychological methods are applied in nearly all the homes, but even where they are not systematically applied, the individuality of the inmate is taken into consideration to a degree previously unknown.

¹ "Social Services and Venereal Disease" (document C.6.M.5. 1938.IV).

Women who are obviously mentally defective are either not accepted in the type of home with which this report deals or are treated in separate departments.

As far as the length of training is concerned, two opposing tendencies can be observed. The bulk of opinion advocates institutional training for a period of at least two years. The Polish reply, coming from a voluntary source, is less definite, however, and gives the time necessary as from three months to four years. The summary of voluntary reports from the United Kingdom states that "the modern tendency is to shorten the period of training; recently more homes have been organised taking girls for a six- or even three-months' course of training". But taking into account the task which institutional training has to fulfil, it seems likely that a longer period is more adapted to present needs.

The greater demands which modern work makes on the faculties of the worker have influenced methods of re-education. Owing to the great competition in nearly all the fields of feminine work (domestic service excluded) the only women who are likely to succeed are those who are able, not only to readjust themselves socially, but to hold their own with women who, having acquired the habit of work, need no special effort in carrying out the daily routine of their occupation. One of the principal duties of institutional training, therefore, is to accustom the women to the sustained effort required during the number of hours of the average working-day in factories or workshops in the modern world. This idea underlies the system in force in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The answer from this country states that: "The essential task of the prophylactoria is to re-educate through work, to accustom the inmates to working, and to inculcate a love of work."

Any special training, important as it may be, is a secondary consideration. A woman who is able to sustain the effort of working for from six to eight hours a day will be

better able to earn her living under modern conditions than a woman who has received special training but has not been used to working continuously for fixed periods.

Dangers of Institutional Life.

One of the chief disadvantages of the institutional training is the character of institutional life. The products of institutional work have not usually to be put on the market in competition with other goods, and the intensity of work is usually far below that in the ordinary factory or workshop. The consequences are very often a false sense of the efficiency of the work done, both among the persons in charge as well as among the inmates themselves.

The Belgian report stresses this danger in stating :

“There is something artificial in institutional life. After a few years, the children acquire a special mentality; they are ‘institutionalised’; fit to live in an institution but not fitted for life in the world. It is important then, especially in the case of young prostitutes, who will have to struggle hard to remain honest when they do leave the institution, to transfer them after a certain time to homes conducted on lines of semi-liberty and readaptation. . . . There they will serve their apprenticeship of liberty and will go and work outside in selected workshops under discreet supervision, which cannot be undertaken in these circumstances by the personnel of the home.”

The Belgian report is therefore not fully in favour of adults being trained in institutions unless the institutions are specially adapted to their needs.

The Czecho-Slovak report states similarly that many former prostitutes “work in an institution under discipline. No sooner do they leave the institution than they return to their former mode of life.”

Standard of Living.

The question, on what principle should the standard of living in institutions be established, received strikingly

different answers. The point of view upheld by most of the Catholic organisations and associations is that the standard of living must never fall below a certain level, but that it should be adapted to the woman's social status. The report of the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, for instance, states that comfortable surroundings and healthy food greatly aid the work of rehabilitation, but "the standard of comfort should not be higher than it would be in the circumstances in which the women will subsequently have to live", otherwise there might be a danger that "the young prostitute will simply become a luxurious hetaera". Some institutions, like the Portuguese "Agrolongo", for example, have a special house for women and girls coming from a higher class of society than the others.

The point of view of the lay organisations or the Protestant associations differs with the nationality of the reporting organisation. But Anglo-Saxon social workers often protest in strong terms against the principle of setting up a low standard of living, especially if this is done in order to inculcate humility in the women because of their past. They object to such notions on psychological grounds. The answers are, in fact, influenced by religious opinions, experience with a particular group of women, national traditions and considerations of a theoretical and practical nature.

The apparently contradictory opinions, however, which seem to point to different experiences with different types and classes of women, lose some of their dissimilarity when it is remembered that the standards of living in different countries are so varied that an artificially high standard in one country would be artificially low in others. The standard of living in some of the hostels in London, for instance, which are to a great extent occupied by servant girls infected with venereal disease, would correspond to the standard of a middle-class family in some other countries.

In England, it corresponds to the standard of life of those girls when they are in service. Standards which would be an incentive to a love of luxury for a servant girl in a poor country would be quite natural to a girl of the same class in England.

This does not explain the whole position however. The fact remains that some social workers would rather set a lower standard of living than a higher one, while others, especially those in North America, do not consider that a higher standard of living constitutes a danger. They would on the contrary argue that whatever the woman's standard in later life might be, rehabilitation can be accomplished more easily in an atmosphere of well-being and that the moral state reached during this training would be permanent enough to prevent the atmosphere acting as an incentive to vice.

The social workers advocating a high standard of living in institutions often belong to countries where the barriers between social classes are not rigid and where, with good training, good fortune and ambition, a former prostitute can reach a higher standard by her own efforts, and without immoral earnings, than she experiences in an institution. It will be seen, therefore, that judgment is influenced to a certain extent by whether the society in which the social workers are situated is more static or dynamic.

Separation of Adults and Minors.

The question whether adults and minors are separated received varying answers. No separation is made in the prophylactoria in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it is strongly recommended in the answer of the Belgian Government, which points out that to bring minors and adult women together " would be disastrous. It is essential to have special buildings, special staff and special methods for adults, who will not accept the methods employed for minors, especially confinement." Most of the answers fall between these two extremes.

Very few answers touch on another difficult question which must nevertheless often arise : the question whether prostitutes should be separated from non-prostitutes. Partly no doubt because the line is difficult to draw, partly because the small number of prostitutes willing to be assisted makes it impossible for a home to be devoted to them alone, most institutions which accept prostitutes also accept girls in moral danger and young women on the borders of prostitution. The Jewish Association refers to difficulties arising in one of its rescue homes as a result of the close contact " between former professional prostitutes, girls in moral danger and unmarried mothers who have never been on the streets ".

Personality of the Individual in charge of the Institution.

A Swiss report stresses perhaps most clearly a point found in a great many answers : the importance which the personality of the individual in charge of the institution has for the success of rehabilitation. The man or woman should " be capable of winning confidence ". Compulsion and routine are of no avail; results can only be obtained by intelligent understanding of each case.

Return to Liberty.

The critical moment inevitably comes at the conclusion of the institutional training, when the step from the sheltered life of the institution into the outside world can no longer be delayed. The experience of many decades gained by social workers with young and old offenders applies also, of course, to prostitutes. But as far as prostitutes are concerned, the problem is made more complicated by traits of character and by the reluctance of many employment agencies to have any dealings with former prostitutes.

Institutions have tried to solve this problem in different ways. Most of the homes in Anglo-Saxon countries put the inmate in touch with an outside social agency, which

specialises in the field in which the woman in question seems to be most capable. This method has the advantage of creating an intermediary stage between the home and the occupation, making it at the same time easier to remove all outside connection with the woman's past.

Another solution is suggested in the Belgian answer, which recommends the creation of a committee of ladies attached to the institution in order "to maintain contact between the institution and the outside world, to take an interest in the women during their stay in the institution, to become acquainted with them, to gain their confidence, to ascertain their qualifications, to find employment for them or a place in a hostel . . . in short, to prepare their departure from the institution. The ladies of the committee must then redouble their activity and must support the former prostitute at the dangerous moment when she returns, find her respectable employment in spite of the distrust of the public. . . ." Nowadays, no responsible agency considers the task of rehabilitation finished with the mere completion of a shorter or longer stage in the institution itself. The stay in the institution is certainly the most important stage, but it is only successful if combined with other measures.

ASSISTANCE TO PROSTITUTES IN OTHER FORMS

Re-education in an institution is one of the courses open to prostitutes who wish to change their way of living, but it is by no means the only one. Moral and financial help is also offered to them in ways which are perhaps less striking and less easy to describe, but not less interesting nor, if used with discrimination, less effectual.

This outside help may consist in finding suitable employment, providing references, characters or identity papers, providing cheap or free lodging, regular supervision and encouragement, assistance in returning home, reconciliation with family or friends or help in arranging a marriage.

The advantage of social work of this kind lies, of course, partly in its adaptability. Institutions are few, they tend to be large and to have their own particular methods of treatment. Individual help can be varied indefinitely to suit each case and, at the same time, it can enable a closer personal contact to be established. This may be especially useful in dealing with prostitutes, as investigations have shown that many of them are very open to personal influence and can be easily led and dominated. Since adult women of normal intelligence cannot usually be compelled to enter institutions and since many are not prepared to submit to their regulations voluntarily, individual help can reach a greater number of prostitutes than institutional treatment. This difference may become accentuated in the future, for one reply states that the reluctance to enter institutions is increasing. Again, a person receiving individual help is

not removed from the ordinary life of the world and has not to go through the difficult period of readjustment which may follow departure from an institution. The disadvantages of individual help, as compared with institutional training, lie in the impossibility of enforcing such a disciplined and regular life and in establishing such close supervision, and, more important still, in the fact that it does not remove women so completely from their old associations and environment.

The replies to the questionnaire show that outside help is not offered indiscriminately. Minors convicted of prostitution are nearly always sent to homes, and social workers seem generally to urge women who are alcoholic, diseased or mentally abnormal to accept treatment in a home. Individual help is therefore usually offered to adult prostitutes who are fairly normal, and social workers seem, naturally, to concentrate their efforts on the women who have only been practising prostitution for a short time.

The agencies which give this individual help and the forms it takes will now be described; first, the official agencies and their work; secondly, the work and scope of voluntary associations; thirdly, the extent to which public money is available for rehabilitation. This will be followed by an account of the steps taken in certain countries when licensed houses were closed.

The agencies, whether official or voluntary, do not generally limit their work to the rehabilitation of prostitutes. Some do general welfare work in helping the destitute and homeless, others were created to assist unmarried mothers or to protect girls who might slip into prostitution through poverty or bad influences.

(i) OFFICIAL MEASURES

As might be expected, most of the official organisation for the assistance of adult prostitutes centres in police action. Replies from nine countries mention work done

by the police (generally the women police), police welfare workers or welfare offices. But there are also examples of readaptation committees or offices managed by municipalities and of social service given by officers attached to the courts of law.

(a) THE WORK OF THE POLICE

The work of women police or women police assistants is referred to in the replies from Australia, Austria, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and Switzerland. The Austrian report states that prostitutes have great confidence in the welfare worker attached to the police headquarters in Vienna and often ask her for help and advice. In some parts of England, the women police make a practice of cautioning prostitutes when first noticed and of sending them to a home or shelter run by a charitable agency. In Scotland, the police give the addresses of cautioned girls to social workers who will visit them. The reply states that often the girls give wrong addresses, and adds: "They are all, however, warned in a kindly way and offered help. Many of them have been cautioned quite a number of times before being charged at court."

The replies from both Poland and Switzerland speak enthusiastically of the work of the women police. They are said to keep in constant touch with employment agencies, and voluntary associations, and indirectly to find work for many prostitutes who ask for their help. The police assistant in Basle states that "the greatest difficulties are met by co-operation between the police and the welfare associations" and that "the appointment of a woman police assistant and her co-operation with the welfare organisations offer the best possibilities for the rehabilitation of prostitutes".

One Australian State (New South Wales) reports that the women police keep in touch as far as possible with

prostitutes who have entered private employment " assisting them when necessary and without revealing their identity ".

Action by the police—whether by policemen or women police is not stated—is also mentioned in the replies from Denmark and Sweden. When the police in Sweden first admonish a woman for vagrancy, they ask her to apply to a private welfare agency. Dr. Tage Kemp¹ writes that, as far as possible, the police and the Public Welfare Bureau are supposed to find work for prostitutes without legitimate employment, but that up to now this finding of employment has not proved of much practical value. Actually, the police hand over all prostitutes willing to accept help to a private welfare organisation.

The account of the most direct police action and also the fullest description of police welfare work comes from Heidelberg in Germany.² It is written by the police welfare worker (*Polizeifürsorgerin*), who assists all prostitutes and girls in moral danger and keeps in close touch with them. Her object is to induce and help them to return to a normal and respectable life and she considers that her work is successful. She herself deals with the most difficult cases; the easier ones she hands over to voluntary organisations and the public welfare office.

There is an interesting description of the action taken when the Heidelberg brothel was closed after the passing of the Act on the Compulsory Treatment of Venereal Disease in 1927 :

" Some little while before the Act came into force, I invited the inmates of the brothel to come and see me, but while they were under the thumb of the brothel-keeper no effective contact could be established. All but two left the town. On an average, the Heidelberg brothel housed twelve prostitutes. We succeeded

¹ Dr. Tage KEMP's work, *Prostitution : An Investigation of its Causes especially with regard to Hereditary Factors* (Copenhagen, 1936), was sent by the Danish Government in answer to the third part of the questionnaire.

² This report was written in 1934.

in taking under our care the two who stayed behind. To these were added ten other prostitutes, registered, but not living in brothels.

"We set to work thoroughly with these twelve girls. With four, that is to say, one third, the police welfare work was successful, one went on living here for a while as a prostitute, the others soon left and were lost sight of.

"If we had paid no further attention to these twelve, they would very probably have remained in Heidelberg as prostitutes. Besides the twelve prostitutes in the brothel, Heidelberg had also from fifteen to twenty clandestine street-walkers; I had them up also and explained to them that though the laws against them had been apparently weakened, this was not actually the case. I explained the stricter medical provisions, and added that my welfare work would be continued in the same way as before. This considerably damped the enthusiasm with which they had greeted the prospect of freedom.

"These figures show that, although the population has risen to 86,000, we now have actually fewer prostitutes in Heidelberg than before. At present, eleven girls are under our supervision. In 1932, the figure was temporarily (in April) twenty-four girls. On an average, from fifteen to seventeen women were under medical supervision.

"It may be objected that our information does not cover every case. Possibly one may elude us for a few weeks, but not longer. The prostitutes themselves see to that, and cases are often reported by the townspeople. We reckon on an average a total of from twenty to twenty-five casual prostitutes. The number was the same in the past; but there was difficulty in getting hold of cases."

An addition to the report reads as follows :

"To-day (1934), Heidelberg still has four professional prostitutes who are under medical supervision. In the course of the year, seven prostitutes were sent to the workhouse and later set free by the amnesty. All seven came unhesitatingly to the Police Welfare Department and asked for help and work. The police headquarters at once got into touch with the head of the Labour Office, who promised to do what he could. One prostitute went of her own accord into a labour training camp; a few weeks before, a woman who had also been a prostitute here, and whose husband is still serving a sentence for living on immoral earnings, voluntarily entered the Girls' Home at Bretten. Three of the prostitutes are now working in a canning factory, two are living with

their parents and giving much needed help in running the household, and the seventh is also looking for work with our assistance."

In carrying out her rehabilitation work, the police welfare worker does not appear to confine herself to any particular method; some girls were persuaded to accept training in an institution, others were found work, others sent home. But there are principles which she applies to all cases; after-care must be arranged, either through the women police themselves or through other social workers; the former prostitute must if possible start her new life in a new town; success is impossible unless each woman receives continuous personal care. The author does not favour the combination of medical and social work, believing that when this is done, it is always the medical point of view that prevails. She considers that strong police action makes her task easier, since, through fear of the workhouse, the prostitutes are more ready to accept assistance.

(b) SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAUX

A step away from the system of entrusting the work of assistance to men and women police is that of establishing official social service agencies to which cases discovered by the police can be referred. Three countries mention offices of this kind; in two, they are attached to the police service; in one, they are set up and managed by local government bodies.

In Bulgaria, a social service bureau forms part of the police department in Sofia for the supervision of prostitution. Prostitutes can apply to the bureau for help and it keeps in touch with private welfare organisations.

In Czecho-Slovakia, social service branches are attached to the police service in the larger towns. They assist in dealing with young prostitutes and women in moral danger and they co-operate with parents, welfare institutions and the courts. All women arrested for prostitution for the

first time and all who assert that they became prostitutes through poverty, are handed over to these branches. At the time when the report was written, the country was suffering from the effects of the depression and it was difficult to judge what the results of this work would be in normal times.

In Belgium, there are municipal social service bureaux or committees in the large towns. Those in Brussels and Liège are called "social readaptation offices" and do welfare work of many kinds besides attempting to re-educate prostitutes. The Antwerp office is said to have abolished its prostitutes' department as the results obtained were insignificant. The description of the work of the Brussels office states that the assistance given is not only material; moral influence is also brought to bear on the women. Besides providing the women with clothing, shelter, food and work, the office takes "whatever steps are necessary to put them right with the administrative authorities, reconcile them with their relations, restore the family circle, induce them to return to work, assist them to obtain admission to hospital, place them in special institutions—in short, to obtain for them normal circumstances of life. Unfortunately, individual social measures have failed." The reply then adds that perhaps longer terms of imprisonment combined with moral reformatory training might be more successful. There is a more specialised agency at Ghent, called a "rehabilitation board". It consists of officials and two or three women members of the municipal council and was set up in 1931, when the new prostitution regulations were introduced. At the time when the reply was written, it was still too early to estimate what the result would be.

One of the most original and interesting developments of official action has taken place in Denmark. An arrangement has been made whereby the morals police, the courts and some mental specialists are co-operating to investigate the effect of rehabilitation measures and to discover, if

possible, means of preventing prostitution. Its policy has been to have each prostitute examined by a mental specialist as soon as she is arrested. Any classified as feeble-minded are sent to an institution. The others are either handed over to a welfare agency or placed on probation from one to three years. A similar scheme is being considered in Sweden.

In two countries which replied to the questionnaire—Austria and the Netherlands—the police welfare work has included the setting-up of hostels in the larger towns for women and girls in need of shelter—for example, when they leave prison or hospital or while arrangements are being made for them to be sent home. These hostels are intended on the whole for short stays, and do not give any special training.

(c) THE PROBATION SYSTEM

Another way in which official attempts at rehabilitation are made is social service combined with the grant of probation. The practice of releasing some prisoners conditionally before the imposition or execution of a sentence is almost universal, although the offences for which this conditional release can be granted vary from country to country. The appointment of officials to see that the conditions of the release are carried out and to assist persons on probation has also become fairly common; but generally their work is limited to assisting and supervising minors. Only in the Anglo-Saxon countries is it usual to find official workers attached to the courts to assist and befriend adult offenders who have been placed on probation. In the United States of America, there are also "parole officers" who have the same duties towards prisoners released on parole, after serving part of their sentence. Often, though, the same worker is both parole and probation officer. It is, of course, far more common for first offenders than recidivists to be granted probation.

It has been said that, in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, probation workers are usually State employees. Courts in the United Kingdom have in the past engaged agents of voluntary societies as their probation officers. Now, however, the cost of probation has become a public charge; in future, all probation officers' salaries will be paid out of public funds and their work will be directed and supervised by a State department. Of course, the probation officer keeps in touch with voluntary welfare agencies.

Besides seeing that the conditions of the probation order are carried out and reporting any breaches, the officer visits the probationer and may also require her to report at regular intervals. Generally, the probation officer tries to find good accommodation, work and opportunities for recreation for the persons under supervision. She also tries to get into touch with the probationer's family and, if necessary, to improve her home conditions. When the home or living conditions are unfavourable, courts in the United Kingdom may make a grant of not more than 15s. a week to pay for the keep of probationers in approved hostels or lodgings. This grant seems generally to be made only to young people between the ages of 15 and 21. The period of probation varies. The reply from the United Kingdom states that "in the case of adult women who have taken to a life of prostitution, it would ordinarily be for a period of one to two years".

The United Kingdom's reply to the third part of the questionnaire gives an idea of how much use is made of the probation system to assist prostitutes. In the official case sheets, out of 160 convicted women, ninety-eight were offered help at their first conviction; thirty-two refused it and, of the remaining sixty-six, fifty-three were helped by probation officers. The help described usually took the form of finding work and lodgings, making arrangements for the women to be sent home, or to an institution or hospital.

The extent to which probation is imposed in the United States of America seems to vary greatly from State to State. Fifteen States have no probation system for adults at all, and others use it sparingly.¹ In the fifty United States' case sheets, of eight women assisted at their first conviction, one had been helped by a parole officer who found her three jobs.

Various other kinds of official assistance to prostitutes are described in the replies from Greece, Italy, Poland, Turkey and Uruguay. In Greece, there are official committees (the central committee at Athens consists of officials and venereal disease specialists), whose business it is to supervise prostitution. These committees keep registers of prostitutes and note when any cease to lead a life of prostitution. They have the "task of rehabilitating prostitutes and also sending those who desire to return to a decent and honourable existence, back to their parents or guardians or to the commune in which they were born or were last resident". Much the same system seems to be followed in Poland and Hungary. The medical police boards in Poland, on which voluntary social organisations are also represented, are said to help prostitutes to return to their families or to arrange for them to enter reformatories or workhouses. In Uruguay, special commissions under the control of the Ministry of Health are entrusted with the supervision of prostitutes; as stated above, it is part of their duties to try to dissuade women who wish to become registered prostitutes and, if they become prostitutes through unemployment, to try to find them work. In Italy, the National Institution for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood (a State organisation) supervises and co-ordinates all assistance to mothers and to children under 18. It does not itself appear to do any rehabilitation work for adults,

¹ E. C. LEKKERKERKER : *Reformatories for Women in the United States*; Groningen, 1931.

and, as a general rule, this work seems to be left to private institutions. The report states that the aim of legal provisions, administrative measures and public and private assistance is prevention rather than cure.¹ In Turkey, the competent Government departments are said to get into touch with public assistance authorities and private agencies to secure help for prostitutes seeking employment.

(d) CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFICIAL ACTION

If the different kinds of official action described in the replies are now considered as a whole, they are found to possess two general characteristics. First, they show the increasingly important part played by women police in exercising supervision over prostitutes and offering them assistance. Wherever women police exist, this work seems to have been particularly—and, indeed, in some countries entirely—assigned to them. Secondly, the official action described does not itself aim at re-educating prostitutes but at putting any who wish for help in touch with suitable private welfare organisations. There are, no doubt, exceptions, but they do not invalidate the rule.

It appears from some answers that this policy has been deliberately adopted, partly perhaps to avoid duplicating machinery which private welfare organisations possessed already, but partly also because of the general belief that this work was one in which private organisations were more likely to succeed. The Swedish reply states: "Experience shows that private assistance organisations secure better results in this respect than Government action", and the Portuguese reply: "The most successful attempts at rehabilitation are those of the private associations, because they rely on voluntary workers to reach their ends. The work demands faith, devotion and conviction in a high

¹ From the reply sent by the Italian branch of the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.

degree. Each case is different from every other, each problem requires its own solution, which generally speaking, official regulations do not discover ”.

(ii) WORK OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

The preceding section has shown that, although official organisations are the channel through which many applications for assistance are made, they rarely provide this assistance themselves. This section will describe the voluntary organisations from which the vast majority of prostitutes receive the help they have asked for. An account will first be given of the work of two large international voluntary associations, not because they hold a monopoly in assistance of this kind, but because the questionnaire elicited particularly full information on their activities. This will be followed by an account of the smaller voluntary organisations and their work.

(a) THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR AID TO YOUNG WOMEN

The official aim of this society is to provide “ a complete system of protection for lonely girls, of whatever nationality, religion and occupation, who are in unsuitable surroundings or have to leave their homes to earn a living ”. As the wording suggests, the work is mainly protective and preventive, but the accounts received in reply to the questionnaire show that the Federation also offers its services freely to prostitutes who ask for help and that it is one of the welfare agencies to which the police often refer prostitutes wishing to change their way of life.

The Federation was founded in 1877. In 1938, it had committees in twenty-four countries or territories ¹ and

¹ Algeria, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, Danzig, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Memel, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Switzerland, Tangiers, Tunis, Yugoslavia.

corresponding members in many more. Its membership was roughly 20,000. Money is said to be provided chiefly by voluntary gifts and subscriptions, but branches in some countries seem to receive a small State subsidy.

According to the reply received from the international centre in Switzerland, the Federation's main work falls into three sections. First, it employs a large number of station workers who offer their services to young women travelling alone, and give them addresses of respectable lodgings. These workers may also intervene if they suspect that young women travellers are in the company of persons likely to exploit their inexperience and credulity. Secondly, the Federation runs homes, hostels and clubs, and, thirdly, it sets up employment and information bureaux. Since the travellers' aid work appears to be almost entirely preventive, it is proposed to describe more fully only the work done by the homes and hostels, and by the employment and information bureaux together with some miscellaneous activities which fall outside the three groups mentioned above.

Refuge Homes and Hostels.

This work is also mainly preventive. The object of the hostels is to offer clean, comfortable and respectable lodgings at low prices and "the attraction of a youthful and healthy atmosphere" to young women workers living by themselves and separated from their families; they also take young girls released on probation by the courts. But the work of the homes especially has another side. They receive young women and girls leaving hospital or prison. They also receive them when pregnant and provide them with all the information they need about public and private institutions which might help them, the obtaining of affiliation orders, *crèches*, day nurseries, etc.

There is an interesting account from Roumania of a home and a hostel which provide facilities for the essential work of sifting. The Refuge Home in Bucharest accepts

women leaving prison or hospital, or any needing shelter. They can remain there for not more than a month; if no employment can be found in that time, arrangements are made for them to be sent to another institution. Those who have found work can go to live at the Federation's hostel if they can be relied upon. The stay in the home seems to be used partly as a period of observation. From the reply to the third part of the questionnaire, it appears that prostitutes looking for employment are kept in the home for a fortnight to test whether they are sincerely willing and able to work. Those who are satisfactory and leave to take up jobs continue to be assisted by members of the Federation.

A table sent with the Roumanian report gives figures showing the nature and extent of the work. In 1934, 282 girls and young women passed through the home; 65% of these were over 18 years old. Half had not been there before, half were former inmates, who, according to the report, often return to the home when they are unemployed. The young women reached the home in the following manner; twenty-nine were sent by the morals police, four by the station worker; twenty were brought by students at the social service school; 102 came on leaving hospital; ninety-six on losing their jobs. 118—that is to say, nearly half—were said to have been in brothels; fifty-six had been clandestine prostitutes. Nearly all seem to have had venereal disease. The table also shows what happened to these girls and women when they left: forty were sent home, thirty-one left the refuge of their own accord and three were sent away. Of the rest, rather less than half were sent to other institutions (fifty-six to venereal disease or maternity hospitals, others to a home for unmarried mothers, a tuberculosis sanatorium, a State reformatory, etc.); work was found for 124. The report states that, of the whole number, forty returned to their old ways in spite of the efforts of a religious association to assist them.

Up to 1934, the municipality used to meet the cost of repatriating any unemployed foreign workers and, by making use of this offer, the Federation repatriated eighty-five girls and young women in 1933. Since that date, the offer has been withdrawn, with the result that only thirteen were repatriated in 1934.

Employment and Information Agencies.

The work of these agencies completes that of the station workers and the homes. Because the Federation has branches in so many countries, the employment agencies are particularly well placed for finding work for young women going abroad, and for giving them addresses and recommendations, so that they need not be completely alone when they arrive. The information bureau generally works side by side with the employment bureau and investigates suspicious offers of employment. The Roumanian branch sends the following account of its employment bureau :

“ The employment agency for women and girls which is situated in the centre of the market, becomes more widely known every day. Although only about seventy to eighty girls are placed every month, the posts required and the demand for workers are double as much. We cannot satisfy all demands because the peasant girls coming from the country often know nothing at all of housework. This shows how much a training-school for general servants is needed. Unfortunately, there is no such thing here as yet.”

Assistance in Other Forms.

The reply from the Swiss branch mentions other work done by the Federation in which more individual assistance is given. In seven large towns in Switzerland, the members of the Federation have organised a system under which girls who are difficult or who are living immorally or in immoral surroundings are entrusted to the care of social

workers. A quotation from the report of the workers in Zurich shows that, in 1932, 558 girls applied for help, and that situations were found for 139. Many were welfare cases, pure and simple, for whom there was no question of finding employment :

“ Every individual case had to be gone into very thoroughly. The girls were often without money, papers or possessions, neglected, pregnant, mentally defective or suffering from venereal disease. Among them are foreigners who have to be reported for one reason or another to the special police officials who deal with foreigners.

“ Generally, they are girls who have escaped from an institution or left their homes without their parents' consent. Young men promised them situations in Zurich and then, after satisfying their dishonourable purpose, left them to their fate.”

At Lausanne, each case is said to be entrusted to a member of the Federation. The reply also mentions another branch of work at Lausanne called the “ women's service ”. It is made up of members of the Federation and other persons who undertake to give individual care to “ girls who are in moral danger or have already been led astray ”.

“ The work is carried out with the assistance of the municipal police, the social service, clergymen and teachers. It deals with from thirty to fifty cases a year. The persons to whom these girls are entrusted endeavour to give them the moral support they require.”

(b) THE JEWISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF
GIRLS, WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

This society was founded in Great Britain in 1885, to rescue Jewish girls from the streets. In 1938, it had committees and correspondents in twenty-seven countries, chiefly in Europe and America, and the scope of its activity had become much wider. The original work of assisting prostitutes is, however, still carried on. It is of especial interest for this part of the report because the Association

has few institutions. The reason for this is said to lie in the fact that the number of Jewish girls living as professional prostitutes is not large enough to call for special Jewish institutions. Women are sometimes sent to general institutions but rehabilitation is far more often attempted through individual help, both moral and financial.

The different branches of the Association keep in close touch with one another, attend general conferences and co-operate with other organisations whenever possible. The general report states that, as far as is known, the work is entirely financed by voluntary subscription and that none of the organisations are subsidised from public funds. The reply from the United Kingdom Central Office states, however, that the approved schools run for girls under 15 is maintained by public funds and that a grant is also received for maternity and child welfare work. It adds that, where the women assisted cannot be given enough financial help from the voluntary funds, the Association works in co-operation with the public assistance committees. Even here, though, the amount of public money received seemed to be kept to the minimum; the 1933 report of the Association states :

“We are reluctant to refer cases to the Public Assistance Authority and thus make them a public charge, and we only do so when we feel that they could only be dealt with by the machinery of the Poor Law.”

The girls and women dealt with by the Association are those who themselves apply for help, or who are sent by other welfare agencies or the authorities. The work of the Association is well known throughout the Jewish community. The United Kingdom Central Office reports that its work is well known to the courts and police; in addition, one of its officers is a probation officer and deals with cases referred from the courts. In the Argentine, many cases

were, at one time, brought to notice through a representative of the Association who was allowed to be present when prostitutes were inscribed on the register. The replies from the South-American branches also show that agents of the Association meet ships as they arrive. Presumably, the work done by these quay and dock workers is, however, almost entirely preventive.

Maintenance of Family Life.

The reply from the United Kingdom states—and this is probably true of the Association as a whole—that the principle on which its work is founded is the maintenance or restoration of family life. Very often, the origin of the young woman's failings or misfortunes are found in an unhappy home life which the Association then does its best to remedy. "Our first endeavour is always to induce girls or women who come under our notice as having been living an immoral life, or who are in danger of doing so, to return to their homes and friends. Visitors are sent to the home to make enquiries, the families are notified and invited to attend the office, consultation takes place, and if it is found possible and desirable, the girl is returned to her home but is kept under regular supervision by lady visitors, and she is helped occasionally with material assistance whilst employment is being found, or she is placed in employment if expert enough."

A later paragraph states that there is always a great prejudice against a girl who has taken to a public life of immorality and that it is a very difficult problem to get members of her family to receive her even after the period of training.

With this desire to maintain family life, the Association naturally advocates the repatriation of foreign girls whenever possible. The different committees and correspondents co-operate to ensure that travellers return safely. The Buenos Aires Committee believes that repatriation is

the best course for a foreign girl " if she can be returned to her parents or friends ". The same Committee also writes that it has considered returning to their homes prostitutes whose families live in the Argentine, but this is rendered difficult by the fact that, as a rule, prostitutes are completely estranged from the community.

Placing in Families.

However much the Committees may favour and encourage the girl's return to her family, this is not the only solution they have to propose. " The circumstances of each case differ and decisions have to be reached in accordance with the circumstances." For the women who cannot or do not wish to return home, other courses are open. They may be placed in private families where they do domestic work and are supervised as far as possible by the Association's workers. This is frequently done in some parts of Europe where economic conditions make other employment difficult to find. In the Argentine, attempts have also been made to place rescued girls with private families and usually these attempts have been considered successful.

Finding of Employment.

For those who are not placed in families, the Association helps to find employment, if possible in the trade for which the women have been trained. The United Kingdom Central Office runs a hostel for working girls, and women may also be placed in supervised lodgings; in Brazil and Uruguay, there are hostels for immigrants run in conjunction with immigration societies. In some countries, there are special homes for those needing institutional treatment. In others, the women are sent if possible to general institutions and visited by the Association's workers. The United Kingdom reply states that, if there is

any reason for suspecting the woman's mental condition to be abnormal, steps are taken to have her examined and given suitable treatment.

Assistance to Unmarried Mothers.

A rescue home and hostel for unmarried mothers and their babies is established in the United Kingdom. In the home, where they remain at least six months after the birth of their child, the women are taught domestic work and the care of children. After six months, they are transferred to the hostel, where they can go out to daily work if they wish. Formerly the inmates of both home and hostel did laundry work for profit; this has now been abandoned as it took up a great deal of time and, on the whole, laundry work was found to be unsuitable employment for the women when they left. It is hoped in the future to offer some other kind of vocational training to women unsuited for domestic service. Other changes in the management of the home have been the abandonment of a distinctive uniform, the abolition of many restrictions and the increase of opportunities for recreation. It is stated, too, that the attitude towards illegitimate children is very different from what it used to be. The girl is made to feel her responsibility as a mother, so that she can do the best for her child.

When a woman leaves the home, every effort is made to induce her family to take her back or to take the child alone. If this cannot be effected, a foster-mother is found and help is given with the payments for a short period. Only if both these efforts are unsuccessful is the child placed in an institution.

The rescue home accepts not only women with children but also "rescue cases" of other kinds. The report mentions that the close contact in the home between former professional prostitutes, girls in moral danger and unmarried mothers who have never been on the streets, has sometimes

caused difficulties. It would be far better to keep the three classes apart, but lack of funds makes this impossible. Not many professional prostitutes seem, however, to find their way to the rescue home. An experiment was made in giving them separate accommodation, but it was found that institutional treatment in itself was unsuitable for them. The report states that it was sometimes possible to make headway with the younger women but that generally "the false glamour of the life which they led made it difficult to confine them within the discipline of a home or an institution. Most of the work for the prostitute willing to give up her life is done through the central office, by its probation officer, and by other visitors who keep in touch with them and help them."

After-care.

Whatever form of assistance is given, the Association attaches importance to supervision and after-care. The central office in London states that there is a complete system of after-care carried out by a Committee of Guardians, by an after-care worker, by the paid staff of the Association and through the central office itself. These workers keep in touch with women who have been found employment, and visit those in homes and hospitals. As a previous quotation has shown, women who return to their homes are supervised; known prostitutes committed to prison are visited, supervised on their discharge and assisted in finding work. The rescue home has a club for its former inmates where they can come at any time for rest and recreation.

Results attained and Difficulties encountered.

The Association admits the difficulties of rehabilitation, caused sometimes by the unfavourable environment in which many of the women were brought up; at other times

by their mental abnormality, by their ill-health or lack of experience of any trade or occupation, which makes it hard to find them employment. It states also that the work is hampered by the necessity of economising and that, with more money, more thorough and far-reaching work could be done. But, on the whole, its experience does not lead it to despair of the possibility of rehabilitation. The United Kingdom report says :

“ The results have, on the whole, been satisfactory, having regard to the difficulties inherent in the work. Usually Jewish girls do not remain long on the streets. In most instances, they have been reclaimed, with the exception of some of very low mentality, and many have married satisfactorily.”

This statement may be compared with the case sheets sent by the same branch in answer to the third part of the questionnaire. They show that, of nineteen prostitutes assisted, six were working steadily and living respectably at the time when the report was written; one other was believed to have reformed. Of the rest, one was known to be leading an irregular life and four were believed to be doing so; one was in a mental hospital; one was attending a psychiatric clinic, and the fate of five was unknown. Of the fourteen prostitutes in the Argentine list whose careers were followed, two were handed over to other agencies and institutions, three returned to Europe. Two were said to be physical wrecks from venereal disease; one of these was receiving food and lodging in return for small services. One had died of venereal disease, and five had continued to live as prostitutes.

(c) OTHER VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

The action of officials and of large international organisations is supplemented by that of the smaller voluntary associations. There are associations of this kind, sometimes a great many of them, in practically every country which replied to the questionnaire. Although none deal

exclusively with the rehabilitation of prostitutes, to a certain extent, their work is specialised. Some are societies for moral welfare, others aim at the suppression of traffic in women, at protecting girls and young women, at assisting women prisoners and so on. In Germany and the United Kingdom, associations are said to specialise in either rescue or preventive work; the reply from Bombay states that the agencies are specialised because institutions for general social welfare do not like to take part in this work for fear of arousing public criticism. It should be added, though, that some replies mention associations whose aim is the relief of general poverty and distress.

By far the greater part of the work of these voluntary associations is financed by gifts and subscriptions from private individuals. In about a third of the countries for which information is given, the voluntary organisations mentioned are said to receive no public grant at all; in most of the remainder they receive a small State or local subsidy. Only two countries mention societies which receive a considerable grant. They are the Prisoners' Aid Society in Denmark and half a dozen welfare organisations in Poland which do rehabilitation work.

Co-operation between the societies in each country seems usually to be quite well established on the practical side; in such matters, that is to say, as notifying and exchanging cases, and arranging after-care. Only in some Indian provinces is there said to be little co-ordination. The replies from both the United States of America and Norway state that, in some large towns, the social agencies maintain a central clearing office for registering cases and exchanging information. In Italy, the work of all societies which provide assistance of any kind to mothers and children is co-ordinated by the National Institution for Motherhood and Childhood, a State organisation which has set up federations of societies in each province. Federations of societies have also been formed in some parts of the United Kingdom.

Co-operation for the exchange of experience and the discussion of new methods and theories seems to be less customary. Usually only the various branches of one society appear to work together in this way. However, in the Netherlands, twenty-three public and private organisations from all over the country meet four times a year in Utrecht to discuss common problems, and a reply from Germany states that there are joint meetings and conferences and that publications are exchanged.

Methods employed.

The descriptions of the work done and the methods employed show that, faced with the same problem, these associations have tried to solve it in similar ways. Their primary aims are to place the women they wish to help in suitable surroundings (either by sending them home or by providing accommodation in a hostel or home) and to help them to earn their living by finding them work and occasionally by giving them vocational training. A good many societies also continue to assist and befriend the women as long as is necessary; a few attempt to find them facilities for recreation. Because of this similarity of method, to give separate accounts of the work done in each country would involve much repetition. Typical methods of work will therefore be described and exceptions to the general rule will be pointed out.

It has been said that social workers usually try to find a suitable environment for the prostitutes they wish to help. Usually the workers who investigate the case find out whether the woman and her family are willing for her to return home and whether the home is suitable. A return home has two advantages; it removes the women from their previous surroundings, and it provides them with shelter and security and in most cases brings them in contact with people who care for them and take an interest

in them. On the other hand, there are obvious dangers unless preliminary enquiries are made. A few associations in the United Kingdom consider it better not to return a prostitute to her home and friends for fear of her resuming bad associations and taking up her former life again; the reply from Bombay states that generally the girls have been ruined through the carelessness of their parents and occasionally with their connivance. A Catholic Welfare Association in Germany remarks that, in more serious cases, merely to return the girl to her family is not sufficient.

The reports of the associations show that quite a number of girls and women are in fact sent back to their families. Probably most of these are minors or young women who had not left home long. A reply from Uruguay mentions that often parents do not want to take their daughters back. The same remark is made in the Bombay reply, but it adds that up-country girls are usually sent back to their native place.

The societies themselves may undertake to provide for the women who do not return home. Many associations have refuge homes of their own; the White Cross society in Latvia, for example, has a home where women are given board and lodging and provided with clothes; an association in Denmark runs a home where prostitutes handed over by the police are lodged temporarily until work can be found for them; the Hungarian National Committee for the suppression of traffic has a hostel where girls who accept assistance live for a time. The societies which cannot offer shelter themselves are generally able to arrange for women to be sent to a public institution or to a home run by some larger association like the Salvation Army or the Federation for Aid to Young Women. Most of these homes, however—apart from proper rehabilitation institutions—only take women for a limited time. They give them no vocational training, nor do they keep them once they have found work.

Hostels.

Hostels which provide board and lodging and some supervision for women who go out to work by day seem to be comparatively rare. A reply from the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues describes one in Belgium which is open to women leaving prison or a " Good Shepherd " convent. Every inmate must be able to earn her own living. The women are given training in domestic work and employment is sought for them. If they find work, a small amount is deducted from their wages for board and lodging, and, outside their working hours, they help with the housework. Since its foundation, 415 women of all denominations have passed through the hostel. The number of successful cases is estimated at 60 %. In Germany, there are hostels run by the Catholic Welfare Association where women can stay for an unlimited period. Hostels for working girls are mentioned in the replies from the United States of America and the Netherlands, but prostitutes seem rarely to be sent to them. In both Warsaw and Dublin, there is said to be one hostel, run by a voluntary association, where former prostitutes can live. In the Dublin hostel, the women are kept free of charge and are given vocational training. The United Kingdom reply states that hostels for working girls exist in the large towns but that not all are willing to accept former prostitutes. Greater provision has been made recently. The hostels in India seem to be chiefly for Anglo-Indians and Europeans. One society in Mysore, which had experimented in using part of its home as a hostel, said that this system was impossible in India since no responsibility could be taken for women travelling to and from work. It adds, however, that a separate hostel might be successful. There are a few temporary hostels in France, where women can remain for a few weeks or a month at the most.

On the whole, the replies show that, although there is no shortage of homes and refuges which give temporary shelter, the hostel system has not yet been developed very fully. There do not seem to be many voluntary societies which run hostels where former prostitutes can live cheaply—or freely for a time—where they can be given some supervision and helped to find work. The Belgian reply quoted above remarks that there are still too few hostels; in Bengal, hostels are said to be badly needed for the socially ostracised and the untouchables, and, in the United Kingdom, a recent official pamphlet on the probation service states that “there is still a lack of hostel accommodation for young men and women, and a need for greater classification according to age”.

Employment.

Through labour exchanges and through the activities of their own workers, the associations attempt to find the women employment. From the answers which give information on this point, it appears that nearly always the employment offered is domestic service of some kind, and that, when vocational training is given in homes and hostels, it is usually in laundering and housework. The explanation lies, of course, partly in the demand for domestic servants, partly in the fact that the work is not highly skilled and that many of the women have worked as servants before. To teach them any other trade would require more time and money and at the same time their chances of obtaining employment would be less. The advantages and drawbacks of this situation will not be examined here, since they are discussed in a later chapter.

After-care.

There are differences in the amount and nature of the after-care which associations give to the women who have passed through their hands. Either because it demands

time and money and a constant and close association with other organisations, or because some social workers feel that the women should be able to start their new life without constant reminders of their past, the systematic following-up of every case is rare. Nevertheless, the Katholische Fürsorgeverein in Germany states that primary importance is attached to after-care, which is arranged through the social workers in the locality. In the United Kingdom, the more active organisations have established a system of regular visiting, but this is said to be still exceptional.

It is more common to read that after-care is given where possible, or when the society in question has a branch or a worker in the district. Some societies notify the local clergy or missionary. Others keep up a correspondence with the women they have helped. A few state that supervision is rarely or never carried out.

Some of the societies which object to after-care on principle—as well as others which do, in fact, carry out supervision—have another way of keeping in touch with the women they have assisted. They invite them to return to the home or hostel in their spare time, during week-ends or holidays. Some societies have turned part of their buildings into a club for former inmates. Apart from this, very little is said about providing the women who have left with facilities for recreation. Only a reply from Germany states that when young women are sent home, they are encouraged to join some youth organisation or club.

Besides the organisations for rescue work in general, there are others which limit their activities to a certain class of women; court missions, voluntary probation services, prisoners' aid societies and homes for unmarried mothers. Court missions established by the churches are mentioned in the replies from Scotland and Canada. Their representatives are present at the courts and offer shelter and assistance to prostitutes who appear before them.

In the Netherlands, the work of supervising and befriending persons placed on probation by the courts is handed over to a voluntary society. This society receives a Government grant and must report to the authorities on each case entrusted to it. Rather the same system is followed in Belgium, where probation officers are voluntary workers nominated by the courts; in places where the work is heavy they may be paid a salary by the court, but they are never considered to be public officials. In France, societies have been formed with the special object of keeping in touch with girls on probation, but they seem only to help girls who are still minors. There is, however, an assistant of the Service social à l'Hôpital attached to the Police Prefecture in Paris, who offers help to all prostitutes brought to the Prefecture. The work of the Service social, whose chief aim is to assist patients at clinics and hospitals, is described in another report in this series.¹

Some replies mention that help is given to prostitutes by prisoners' aid societies, whose workers visit prisoners and try to find them work on their discharge. The Belgian reply states that most of these societies are only interested in the rehabilitation of minors, but that the Bruges assistance committee makes great efforts to train prostitutes and other women leaving workhouses or State refuge homes, where they have been detained by order of the courts. The United Kingdom reply mentions the help given by prisoners' aid societies; it adds, however, that convicted prostitutes are usually offered the alternatives of a fine or imprisonment for one or two weeks. Even those who go to prison do not therefore remain long enough for the social workers to make any impression. In any case, they are said usually to refuse all assistance.

¹ "Social Services and Venereal Disease" (document C.6.M.5. 1938.IV).

Homes for Unmarried Mothers.

In the opinion of some authorities, the most interesting rehabilitation work is now being carried out by the homes for unmarried mothers. Many of these homes run by voluntary societies take care of mother and child for a considerable time after confinement; they also teach the women how to look after children; they arrange marriages or assist in obtaining affiliation orders; they help the women to find employment when they leave and, if necessary, make arrangements for the children to be boarded out with private families, adopted or placed in institutions.

Several institutions state that it is now their policy whenever possible to prevent the mothers and children being separated. Some allow the women to leave their children in the home while they go out to daily work, others have started day nurseries where the children can be left during the day. In Roumania, women leaving the maternity hospitals can be admitted to special *crèches*, where they are required to feed and nurse another child as well as their own until it is two years old.

Annual reports from homes for unmarried mothers were included in the reply from the United Kingdom. They show varying conditions of admittance; some are only for women of a certain religious faith, but many are undenominational; one is especially for domestic servants, another for girls of the professional or educated classes. Some only accept women for the birth of their first child; many require a certificate showing that the woman has no infectious disease. An extract from the report of a typical home is given below :

“ The home exists and is worked in the interests of poor, young, unmarried mothers of any denomination, to save them from further danger and to help them, by means of moral and spiritual influences, to make a fresh start in life. They are taught how to

bring up their babies and are assisted to get suitable employment. The home is supervised by the Superintendent, who is a skilled nurse, and she has one assistant."

It is said that the home accommodates twelve mothers and their children. During the year 1933, nineteen were admitted and thirteen discharged. Of those who left, three women and their children returned to relatives; six went into service, their children being placed with foster-mothers; two were happily married and two were placed in a home for a further period of training. The women work in the home till the baby is nine months old; then they go out to daily work. The report states that most of the women who have left have proved satisfactory. "They work well, pay the foster-mothers regularly, take out their babies in their off-duty time, and bring them home to Viewfield" (the home in question).

The day-servants' hostel in London admits women after their confinement; they can remain in the hostel for three years, going out to daily work. An entrance fee is charged but the women are paid for the work they do in the hostel. They contribute from their pay towards the maintenance of their child. This hostel takes fifteen women and children. Most of the homes from which reports were sent were fairly small and took from ten to twenty women.

One experienced society wrote that hostels of this kind cannot be self-supporting :

" A staff of trained workers must be provided, and the mothers whose earnings are comparatively small are unable to pay very much towards the expenses of the home. Hostels provide an excellent method of bringing an unmarried mother back gradually into normal life and their possibilities should be further explored. So far, no scheme has been formulated in this country under which several mothers might live together unsupervised in an ordinary house and be self-supporting as a community, but this is an experiment which would be of great interest."

The reply from the United Kingdom also mentions one organisation which has an employment agency for finding

situations for unmarried mothers with their children. The usual practice is, however, to find a foster-mother and for the mother to pay something towards the keep of her child. The reply states that " a good foster-mother, who will befriend the mother and welcome her to her house can be an important factor in rehabilitation ". One child welfare organisation has a fund for supplementing payments to the foster-mother.

Some associations consider that there is a tendency to offer too much institutional and not enough legal help to unmarried mothers. Legal help is often needed to obtain an affiliation order. Some of the replies of societies in the United Kingdom expressed the opinion that local authorities could give great assistance by making more use of their powers to grant financial help. In Italy, all unmarried mothers are said to be entitled to a Government grant until their child is 14 years old.

Individual Help.

The preceding pages have described the part played by the large international organisations, by smaller societies for rescue work and by other societies with more specialised aims. But one attempt to rehabilitate prostitutes through individual help has not yet been described; it is so different from the others that it deserves a place to itself. This attempt is described in the Netherlands reply to the questionnaire and also in a report by a correspondent member of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions in 1938. Part of this report is reproduced below :

" Another method of rehabilitation which is difficult to apply but which has produced excellent results has been brought to our notice.

" This method has been applied by Madame H., a middle-aged lady, living in a large town, who gained experience as head of a temporary hostel for women passing through the town, where she

came to learn the needs of prostitutes and to care for these unfortunate women. Madame H. lives in a small house in a street of ill repute. She got into touch with prostitutes by taking them illustrated papers, pamphlets and books, inviting them to come and see her for a cup of tea or coffee or to spend a pleasant evening with her. She goes into houses of ill fame, speaks quite openly to the inmates, looks after them when they are ill, and offers them hospitality.

"For the first year or two, her efforts appeared to be meeting with no success, but gradually, thanks to her goodness and untiring perseverance, she succeeded in winning the confidence of several prostitutes, and among those whose lives she has helped to change she now has friends who, like her, are endeavouring to save others. She has a meeting of these reformed women once a month; these meetings are attended by from two to three hundred persons. She has no telephone, office or administrative organisation; she merely takes a few notes on difficult cases for her own information.

"The small sum of 8.50 florins a week suffices for her personal needs: her *protégées* know this, and can see for themselves the frugal and simple way in which she lives. She can therefore say quite sincerely that money plays no part in her work. The prostitutes know that she gives them all she has, and she is herself convinced that larger resources would only hamper her work. The love of her fellow-creatures, the gift of her whole self and the example of a simple and irreproachable life are enough.

"Madame H. herself says that this method could not be applied by anyone working for money. She regards it as a vocation which calls for complete independence on the part of the worker."¹

(iii) EXTENT TO WHICH PUBLIC MONEY IS AVAILABLE FOR REHABILITATION

The State or the public authorities in most countries do not consider rehabilitation as a matter for which they should assume responsibility. There are several reasons for this. In some countries, no official notice is taken of

¹ From a report sent in 1938 by the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, to the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

prostitution; even in the countries where it is tolerated, supervised or in some way licensed, prostitution is looked upon as a regrettable social phenomenon but not as an offence. The authorities do not therefore occupy themselves with prostitution as they do with recognised social evils such as slums or social diseases like tuberculosis or syphilis. Official action is chiefly concentrated on the health or police aspect of prostitution, or on the fight against third party exploitation of prostitution. The prostitute, as a prostitute, is not regarded as a subject for public care. Moreover, prostitution hardly ever constitutes a social phenomenon of such magnitude that any organised measures are considered by the authorities.

It is therefore comprehensible that most countries have not felt the necessity of making provision for the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes out of public money. The French answer states, for instance: "Public assistance institutions do little for the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes, and neither the departments nor the communes receive special grants for the rehabilitation of prostitutes. In practice, the public authorities rely upon private rehabilitation organisations." Most answers state or imply that there are no special institutions to assist adult prostitutes, financed out of public funds, nor any credits in the State budget for this purpose.

A very few countries state that institutions for the rehabilitation of prostitutes are financed out of public funds, but do not state clearly whether, as seems probable, these institutions are for minors only. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the homes for prostitutes are public institutions, does not consider its prophylactoria as State institutions in the strict sense of the word. The necessary credits are, however, derived from the means at the disposal of the social insurance and public health authorities. These credits are only important when the homes and workshops are first established; later on, the

workshops make a profit and the prophylactoria become self-supporting. Nevertheless, they enjoy various facilities for acquiring raw materials; they obtain the necessary buildings free of charge and they pay no tax on the products of their workshops.

While it is rare for public money to be used directly for rehabilitation, in most countries, it is available indirectly in two ways: through public subsistence grants and through subsidies to voluntary organisations.

Use of Public Subsistence Grants in Rehabilitation.

Prostitutes can obtain admission to public assistance institutions or receive help in money or goods "because they are destitute and not because they are prostitutes", as the United Kingdom report puts it.

The Scottish reply describes a situation which, *mutatis mutandis*, probably exists in other countries :

"The statutory function of the public assessment authority is to relieve destitution. Relief may be granted either by way of outdoor relief—*i.e.*, payment of aliment (almost always in cash) or by admission to a public assistance institution. It is only when destitution arises that application for public assistance is made.

"With regard to the question whether public assistance grants are available to enable prostitutes to give up their mode of life, public assistance officers who have been consulted state that a professional prostitute rarely applies for public assistance. In the opinion of the department, however, authorities should be prepared to grant outdoor assistance to a woman who genuinely desires to break with her former life and associations.

"A common type with which the local authorities have to deal is the promiscuous woman who normally supports herself by some occupation—*e.g.*, the agricultural worker, the factory worker, the domestic servant. If the woman becomes pregnant, she has to give up her employment when pregnancy is advanced, and if she has no other means of support or relatives who could support her, she becomes destitute and applies for public assistance. Cases of this kind are fairly numerous.

“ The public assistance authorities themselves do not appear to have any special arrangements for after-care and rehabilitation. As stated, their statutory function ceases when destitution no longer exists. Further, the women cannot be detained in an institution. The work of after-care and rehabilitation seems to be left mainly to the voluntary associations. From enquiries made, however, it appears that the authorities willingly assist these women, especially young women who have no employment, to re-establish themselves either by finding employment for them or by arranging for them to receive training for some occupation. In this work, the authorities are often helped by voluntary organisations.”

The reply from the United Kingdom states further : “ The grant of domiciliary relief would probably be discouraged, in accordance with the principle laid down in more than one official circular that such relief should not be applied to subsidise disease or immorality ”. In Denmark, on the other hand, Dr. Kemp states that, during the economic depression, practically everyone who applied, whether insured or not, was given modest financial help. A number of prostitutes filed a request for help and received it. He adds, though, that later, when changes were introduced in the system, the authorities became rather stricter with non-insured persons. At Amsterdam, the public assistance services co-operate with a voluntary organisation which assists prostitutes. Former prostitutes who refuse to go into a home are kept under supervision by the organisation and receive public relief. On this point, the Canadian reply is interesting. It states that, through the development of unemployment relief in Canada, many prostitutes have obtained public sustenance grants.

“ Where they are granted without due supervision, it is obvious that there is grave danger, but where adequate social work procedure is associated with the granting of such aid, it would appear that social re-establishment could be effected with a large number, especially of the younger women.”

The function of public assistance seems in fact to be to make rehabilitation possible by reducing the pressure of

poverty, unemployment and disability and by giving medical treatment. It provides a foundation on which measures of rehabilitation can build, but it must be remembered that public assistance can only be given as long as the women are actually destitute.

The Estonian reply mentions another way in which public assistance grants are indirectly available for rehabilitation—viz., through adult women being placed compulsory in institutions financed out of public funds and primarily intended for the re-education or re-adaptation of minors. This is not common, for the legislation in most countries excludes the compulsory placing of adults in institutions, but it is possible in most of the Scandinavian countries, where prostitution is dealt with under Vagrancy Acts. The Swedish report states: "Any person who does not do his or her best to earn an honest livelihood or who lives in such a way as to endanger public order and morality, may, after receiving at least one warning, be sentenced to confinement in a labour home. However, only those prostitutes whose mode of living is regarded as constituting a social menace are subject to the measure of rehabilitation which confinement in a labour home in its present form is intended to be. Up to 1921, such rehabilitation was essentially penal in character, but, since that year, it has been carried out solely with a view to the education and vocational training of the inmates."

Another example of an interesting form of support through public funds is described in the reply from a voluntary organisation in Uruguay.¹ This organisation has recently started a laundry in order to give work to the prostitutes who apply to it for help. The laundry does the washing for a nursery home run by the Minister of Health.

¹ From the reply sent by the Uruguayan branch of the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.

Subsidies to Voluntary Organisations.

As has been said above, the authorities leave rehabilitation work almost entirely to voluntary organisations. Moreover, it is extremely rare for a voluntary organisation to receive a State subsidy, especially for its rehabilitation work. Some organisations receive grants from the State or, more frequently, from municipal and local authorities for assistance to unmarried mothers, for the treatment of venereal disease, and so on. As in the case of State subsistence grants, prostitutes benefit from these subsidies indirectly, not because they are prostitutes, but because they fall within one or other category of those whom the society exists to relieve. The account of the Federation for Aid to Young Women mentioned that the society made frequent use of State grants for the repatriation of foreign unemployed workers.

Reports from Australia, Belgium, the United Kingdom, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, some of the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Uruguay give information on subsidies to voluntary organisations which help prostitutes. The amount of the subsidies is rarely given. The Australian report, however, states that, during the financial year June 1935-June 1936, the following Government grants were made by the Queensland Government: Salvation Army, £A350; Magdalen Asylum, £A75; Convent of the " Good Shepherd ", £A100. The report adds that " the whole amount was indirectly available for rehabilitation work ". At Bombay, in 1935-36, private associations interested in social welfare work received grants amounting to 23,410 rupees. Latvia reports that the White Cross organisation, which deals with rehabilitation, receives annually a Government grant of 1,000 lats. The municipality of Riga gives an annual subsidy of 3,000 lats and moreover places gratuitously at the disposal of the organisation a dispensary in one

of the buildings of the Municipal Hospital of Riga. Similar dispensaries are being put at the disposal of the society in other towns in Latvia. These figures suggest that only fairly small sums are granted to voluntary organisations for these purposes.

In some countries, voluntary work of this kind is carried out almost entirely by private subscription. This is true, for instance, of Denmark and the United States of America.

As a general rule, the expenses of religious organisations specially concerned with rehabilitation are borne by the congregations or organisations themselves, but, in some countries, the " Good Shepherd " institutions receive State grants. The Salvation Army enjoys quite a privileged position, especially in the Far East, where it holds a practical monopoly in assistance to adult women. It is frequently subsidised by Governments (Netherlands Indies and India), and usually works in close collaboration with the local authorities.

(iv) STEPS TAKEN WHEN LICENSED HOUSES WERE CLOSED

In most of the countries which abolished licensed houses during the second half of the nineteenth century or the first decade of the twentieth, the need for organised action to assist the women who had lived in brothels does not seem to have been felt. The general opinion was that most of them would remain prostitutes, and that no efforts to change their lives would have much chance of success. It was considered more important to remove one artificial stimulus to the recruitment of prostitutes by closing licensed houses. The report from the United States of America shows, however, what was done under favourable conditions. When " the policy of law enforcement against such houses was about to be inaugurated or revived, because of an aroused public opinion, social organisations and individuals have offered to find legitimate work for or to assist the inmates of the houses to be closed ". These offers, however, were

rarely accepted. "Professional prostitutes . . . have not generally sought or accepted voluntarily at any time offers of social assistance or rehabilitation."

In other countries, the closing of licensed houses was accompanied by legislation which indirectly affected the situation. Thus in England, the age of consent was raised and severe laws were passed against *souteneurs*. Apart from this, the authorities concentrated their efforts on preventing the women who left licensed houses from crowding the streets and becoming a public nuisance.

The end of the world war marked a new and striking increase in the number of countries which had abolished the licensed-house system. In some countries, no special measures accompanied the closing of the brothels.¹ Other countries give interesting details which show that the authorities were chiefly concerned with three problems—public order, public health and, to a lesser degree, rehabilitation. Measures for rehabilitation were nearly always undertaken in collaboration with, or exclusively by, voluntary organisations. An example of how authorities are able to proceed systematically in this field is given by a report on experiences in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, where tolerated brothels were closed between 1929 and 1931.

"In each administration, long notice was given that steps would be taken to compel the closing of brothels. The first step was taken in March 1927, when the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Hong-Kong, was advised that, in future, no professional prostitutes would be allowed to land at Malayan ports. Keepers of brothels were informed at the same time that this was the first stage towards the eventual suppression of brothels. Malaya's position was eased greatly by the fact that the inmates of the tolerated brothels were, almost without exception, aliens, being women from the Kwangtung province of China. The stoppage of the supply of new recruits to brothels soon began to have an

¹ Belgium (Brussels and Antwerp), India (Bombay), Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia and Norway.

effect, the prostitutes in the brothels diminishing and the keepers of many brothels finding, in consequence, that it no longer paid to run them.

"The next step was the enactment of women and girls' protection legislation on modern lines, making the keeping of a brothel an offence. Once this had been done in the various administrations, it remained only to give final notice to the brothel-keepers and prostitutes that by a certain date the brothels must be closed. In every case, this order was obeyed. From the time when final notice was given, prostitutes left the brothels in increasing numbers. Some of them returned to China, where there would be no legal obstacle to their continuing prostitution. Some moved to other premises in the same or another town in Malaya, where they attempted clandestine prostitution with greater or less success. Others turned to the work of sempstresses or washerwomen. Others entered upon an irregular union with a favourite client. Those who were left in the brothels at the closing date were relatively few in number and they betook themselves to the same occupation as those who left earlier. Asylum in the rescue homes run in each big town was offered to them all, but the number that took advantage of it was negligible. Sullen opposition to the ways of an interfering Government was the prevailing attitude of mind, and they did not welcome offers from Government sources to ease their transition to another manner of life and, apart from the Government, no association or organisation interested itself in their fate."

On a smaller scale and in a different manner, action was taken in a number of the French towns which abolished tolerated brothels. At Strasburg, for instance, on the closing of the tolerated brothels, prostitutes were informed by the Public Morals Service that they could apply to the assistant woman police officer, who would help them as far as possible. Only three presented themselves, and of these only one consented voluntarily to spend a year in a rehabilitation establishment. In some towns, the majority of women released from tolerated brothels frequent houses of prostitution known as *maisons de rendez-vous*. By this is meant establishments to which women are attached who do not live there but who go there more or less habitually for a certain length of time.

The Chinese report gives an outline of measures provided for the time when the closing of brothels is likely to be carried out. For women who have become prostitutes in consequence of poverty, measures will be taken so as to enable them to earn a normal living. "For those who were seduced and sold into brothels . . . the offenders shall be dealt with according to law and the prostitute or prostitutes concerned shall be entrusted to the public assistance institutions. Furthermore, the local authorities shall, by co-operating with philanthropic societies, raise funds for the establishment of various handicraft workshops in order to accommodate unemployed and poverty-stricken women so that they can earn a living."

Two European countries (Poland and Roumania) state that, at the time of the closing of licensed houses, any prostitutes who wished henceforth to lead a normal life were placed in institutions by voluntary organisations; in one country (Yugoslavia), prostitutes were sent to their communes of origin.

It appears from the answers that, in the majority of countries, it was not felt necessary to make large-scale arrangements to assist prostitutes when licensed houses were closed. Authorities were chiefly interested in the repercussions on health and on public order. It fell on the voluntary organisations to take care of the individual prostitutes, and it was generally found that only a few prostitutes availed themselves of the opportunities offered.

(v) RESULTS OBTAINED BY THESE FORMS OF ASSISTANCE

Reading the accounts of these different forms in which assistance is given to prostitutes outside institutions, the questions which inevitably arise are, what results do they achieve and what are the opinions of social workers on the respective merits of institutional treatment and outside help? The first question is unfortunately difficult to answer : many replies give only the results obtained by

institutions; others state general results without distinguishing between the various methods of assistance. Nevertheless, the answers which do give this information make an interesting comparison.

The Brussels re-adaptation office states frankly that its individual social measures have failed :

“ Some of the women for whom employment has been found left this employment voluntarily after a few days. . . . Others agreed to leave the large towns and return to their villages, but after a time their presence was again reported in Brussels. The only satisfactory case is that of a young woman who, after engaging in a life of prostitution, found a husband.”

It has already been mentioned that the Antwerp office closed its prostitutes section because the results were insignificant. The Belgian reply states that, generally speaking, the efforts have failed or success has been very doubtful; some satisfactory results have been achieved, however, often through the women getting married.

This opinion must be set beside the experience of the Federation for Aid to Young Women and the Jewish Association. Neither of these is unhopeful of the possibility of rehabilitation through individual assistance, and the results of the Jewish Association's work show that quite a fair proportion of the women it has assisted have, in fact, changed their way of living.

The success achieved by the Heidelberg police welfare worker will also be remembered. She, of course, made use of institutions and considers them of great importance in re-educating professional prostitutes. But, at the same time, a great deal of her work consisted in giving outside help, and she believes that “ nothing but constant care for each individual prostitute can afford any prospect of success ”. Part of her account illustrates the effect which welfare work of this kind can have. She is speaking of a prostitute who came to her for help and who had formerly been employed by a firm at Stuttgart.

"The testimonial which she had received from the firm had naturally been lost. I wrote for a duplicate, which the firm sent me. It was a truly unforgettable experience to see the girl's delight over this reference. Radiant as a child, she kept looking at me and at the clean piece of paper as though she had recovered a lost treasure which would open for her the way into a new life. And as if all that was good in her had been awakened, she told me once more how she had come to her former life and how much she regretted it. 'I'd rather starve than go back to that,' was how she ended."

The United Kingdom reply gives figures showing the later careers of the women and girls who in the year 1930 received help from twenty outside workers in London. During the three subsequent years, twenty-five of the women became prostitutes, 155 had another illegitimate child, 231 were married, 664 returned to their home or friends, 1,511 were self-supporting or had intermittent employment, 528 were lost sight of. The joint figures from sixteen refuge homes showed proportionately about the same results.

The answers from both the United States of America and the United Kingdom throw some light on the results obtained by the probation service. A study of the careers of 500 women released from a large reformatory in the United States was not encouraging; the reply mentions this and adds: "Better results, on the whole, have probably been obtained by probation, though complete information on this point, which would make possible an accurate comparison, is not available." The United Kingdom case sheets sent in reply to the third part of the questionnaire show a large number of women assisted on their first conviction by a probation officer. Many accepted help but later left the work found for them; others had been convicted too recently for it to be possible to judge results. A few women, however, obviously benefited from the probation officer's assistance. One of the Manchester case sheets may be quoted. It describes a married woman

who left her husband because he ill-treated her. At one time when she was destitute, she stole some clothes and was sent to prison. When she came out, she asked her husband to take her back. He would not, so she became a prostitute. At her first conviction she was placed on probation, sent to a shelter for a short time, and then found work in a hospital. She was said to be working well.

In another case, a woman left with a small child took to prostitution to keep herself and pay a foster-mother. She was convicted and placed on probation. An arrangement was made with the father of the child to pay her weekly allowance, and the report states that she was extremely glad to give up the life.

The second question which it would be interesting to answer is, what do social workers themselves think of the merits of individual assistance as compared with institutional treatment? The replies which deal with this point show that, on the whole, with adult professional prostitutes, a period of re-education in an institution is considered the most likely to succeed. But it is admitted that much depends on the character of the institution and that most prostitutes are reluctant to enter them. A German social agency states, in fact : " We are faced with the dilemma—quite apart from the question of cost—that, on the one hand, the prostitutes themselves are loath to bind themselves to a stay of one or two years in an institution, while, on the other hand, their immediate return to civic life (possibly with the aid of the public welfare organisation) is not practicable ".

But not all the replies judge individual assistance unfavourably. An association in the Netherlands states that each case must be dealt with individually and it is not possible to say that one method is superior to another. Most of the women assisted are left in normal surroundings. No one is placed in an institution unless this is absolutely necessary. A society in Egypt states that, on the whole,

it seems better to offer outside work than to attempt to make the women enter homes. A paragraph from the Canadian reply must also be quoted. It runs as follows :

“ Throughout most of the replies received in Canada recurs the point that considerable success has attended the efforts of such organisations as the John Howard Society, Prison Gate Missions, etc., whose approach is based not on institutional care alone, but on sending qualified, experienced workers to get in touch with each woman, to attempt to obtain her confidence and then to work out with her individually in the community where she will have to make her way, special care, placement, supervision and gradual re-establishment. One of the unusual features experienced in the enquiry was the spontaneous tribute offered by several police departments to the excellent co-operation and results accruing from the intensive individual work of qualified social workers attached to various agencies. . . . Of course, such methods would be applicable only to a certain percentage of these women. It is not a question of individual service in the community *versus* institutional care; it is a question of the effective combination of both.”

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

(i) AGE AND REHABILITATION

Only a few answers from Governments and voluntary organisations touch on the relation between age and the possibility of rehabilitation. Most of the opinions given, from whatever country they come, state that it is with young women that training and re-education are most likely to succeed. They often add that the less time a woman has practised prostitution, the easier it is for her to change her way of life.

Below are given some answers on this point from countries with very different social, economic and climatic conditions.

The report from Bulgaria states :

“ It has been observed that, within the first two years, prostitutes are still capable of abandoning their profession in favour of normal employment. In a general way, a young prostitute, who has engaged in this degrading trade for a few months only, is ready to change her means of livelihood if she is offered well-paid and not too exacting employment. Once that initial period has passed, those women who have been able to adapt themselves to the life and earn a living at it easily, hesitate before they give up prostitution. It is only after the second year, when they have been able to estimate the risks and disadvantages of the profession and, above all, when they find their health endangered, that they show signs of repentance, and will accept any work, even if not well paid, provided it is permanent.”

In Hong-Kong and Malaya :

“ Experience shows that success in rehabilitating Chinese prostitutes depends very largely on their being committed to the

rescue when they are young and when they have had but a short time as a prostitute. Great difficulty is experienced with older girls."

This is in fact the point of view shared by nearly all the authorities, denominational organisations and social workers who touch on this point. The striking exception is the opinion held by Mme. Avril de Sainte Croix. In a report submitted to the Advisory Committee on Social Questions in 1937, she said :

" It has been maintained that the rehabilitation of a prostitute is particularly easy in the case of young girls, while in the case of women of full age who have led an immoral life for years, this rehabilitation is almost impossible. This is a superficial judgment which is not borne out by experience. While in the case of women above a certain age, the habit of idleness, the immoderate use of alcohol and narcotics and the morbid development of sensuality make it difficult to reverse the tendency, it is, I think, often easier to achieve a good result with a prostitute between 20 and 30, for example, than with a prostitute under age. At this stage in their lives, these poor women often experience a feeling of discouragement, a disgust of life, and a weakening in their powers of resistance, and at this turning-point, if they do not find the necessary support to bring them out of their sad situation, they may become the prey of final degradation, alcoholism or unnatural vice. They have lost their early illusions and no longer believe in the future of luxury and pleasure which the young girls still hope for. The physical element plays as big a part in this disgust as the moral element, or even more."

(ii) TYPES OF WORK FOR WHICH PROSTITUTES
SHOULD BE TRAINED

It was evident from the outset that the answers to the question regarding the most suitable work for rehabilitated prostitutes would vary according to the social structure, the traditions and the geographical position of the country. Some replies distinguish, too, between the types of work suitable for women of different ages and, in fact,

there is hardly any part of the enquiry in which the answers are so varied or so conflicting.

According to most of the answers, domestic work is still considered the most suitable for former prostitutes, or even if not the most suitable, the only type of employment which they are likely to find. Its advantages lie in the fact that, in nearly all countries, there is a shortage of domestic workers, and this work therefore offers the best chances for placing persons who have had no special professional training. Many prostitutes have previously done domestic work. It is therefore argued—though this is contested in some replies—that it would be to their advantage to return to a familiar occupation. Moreover, household work offers board and lodging and is one of the occupations for women which definitely enable them to be self-supporting.

Against these arguments there is a growing body of opinion coming from countries with varying social conditions. The report from the United Kingdom, for instance, states that domestic service is probably quite unsuitable, especially if it is residential, as the women dislike its loneliness, the early rising and close supervision by the mistress. The Czecho-Slovak reply states that most of the women "resent the restriction entailed by this type of work". The French answer is even more emphatic, stating that "to insist on making general servants out of prostitutes and to force them into an occupation which they have usually left because they dislike it is a gross error". It must be remembered, too, that a strikingly high proportion of prostitutes originally worked as domestic servants, and the fact that they found the work uncongenial may have been a contributory cause of their prostitution. The fact remains, however, that the great majority of countries still either consider domestic service suitable or train women for it because it offers them their greatest chance of employment.

Apart from domestic work, manual work in general is

recommended by a number of other countries. The Greek report states that manual work is "the only sort of work for which in most cases their character, their degree of instruction and their general mentality suits them". The Roumanian answer adopts a similar attitude. Among the different types of manual work enumerated, laundry work still figures on the list of recommended activities, but it has long ceased to be at the top of the list.

Some twenty or thirty years ago, laundry work was the standard occupation for which institutions and organisations thought prostitutes suitable, but this is no longer so. Mrs. Booth,¹ referring to the experience of the Salvation Army as far as laundry work is concerned, says that in her early days she found that employment in rescue homes and penitentiaries was limited to laundry work. She discovered that it was a great hindrance to the willingness of the women to come into such homes. Apart from this, Mrs. Booth notes other drawbacks—the presence of other people's property on the premises, which leads to arrangements to safeguard this property and must therefore "necessarily interfere somewhat with the atmosphere of trust and liberty which is so helpful"; the difficulty "to sing or to converse or impart individual instruction during working hours in a laundry"; and, finally, the fact that to a number of women in Great Britain work in a laundry was associated with periods of imprisonment or debasing employment. She therefore comes to the conclusion that she does "not regard laundry work as a desirable employment. It can perhaps be made remunerative . . . but never on any account should this be the sole or recognised industry where we have only one home in a district. Never make your door to the Kingdom of Heaven as narrow as a wash-tub."

¹ International Social Council Addresses, Part 2: "The Women's Social Work", by Mrs. Booth (The Salvation Army, 1912).

Some answers suggest that manual work suitable for prostitutes ought to be physically and mentally exhausting. This may explain why needlework, formerly one of the occupations for which women in institutions were most frequently trained, is described in some answers as unsuitable. The Uruguayan answer¹ states that it leaves the mind too free and does not sufficiently exhaust the nervous and physical energy of the women. The answer from this country therefore recommends washing, cooking and other housework, as well as farming and gardening.²

Some countries³ advocate industrial work as a possible solution, because the collective discipline during working hours and the freedom outside appeals to women who have previously been accustomed to great liberty. Another advantage mentioned is that factory work provides women with companions, so that they do not suffer from the loneliness which has proved so dangerous for domestic servants. But factory work is difficult to find and, in addition, the women are often too weak physically to stand the strain which it entails.

Opinion is unanimous that the women must, if possible, not be placed in occupations which entail the danger of promiscuity, such as work in hostels, lunch-rooms, bars, dance-halls and so on.

The Chinese answer mentions light and artistic crafts as among the most suitable types of work. An informal enquiry made in the course of the study to discover whether prostitutes possess any special aptitude for professions of an artistic nature has led to no positive conclusions. Considerable artistic ability was found among former prostitutes in the Moscow prophylactorium, but the heads of the

¹ Non-official information.

² One of the reasons why needlework is less recommended is probably because the extremely low pay for work would not enable a woman to reach a decent standard of living when she leaves the institution.

³ Bulgaria, Egypt (report from voluntary organisation), France.

homes and hostels in other countries said they had not observed any special artistic or creative talent amongst the inmates.

In conclusion, it may be said that occupations conducive to promiscuity should be avoided. Domestic work offers the best chances of employment; unfortunately, the conditions of work which it imposes do not suit every woman and, in fact, it is often discontent with these conditions which has originally helped to lead the women into prostitution. The ideal occupation seems to be one which guarantees a comparatively high standard of life and a certain degree of personal freedom, and one which offers possibilities for recreation and companionship outside the work. Perhaps factory work best fulfils these conditions if the state of health of the women concerned is able to stand the strain which it imposes.

(iii) RE-ENTRY INTO NORMAL LIFE

Apart from a few religious institutions, all organisations for rehabilitation aim at helping the women to re-enter the normal life of society. Previous chapters have shown the methods employed and how they have developed recently. The next few pages attempt to show the different possibilities and the special difficulties in the way of this re-entry.

Marriage.

There is complete agreement that a happy marriage is the ideal solution, and many reports concur in stating that a surprisingly high proportion of the marriages of former prostitutes prove successful. This may be because these women, more than any others, long for a sheltered life, and need the support which a happy personal relationship can bring. Experience has shown that the majority are faithful and devoted wives.

One serious danger threatens such homes—the possi-

bility of the wife's past being made known by accident or by an act of blackmail or vengeance coming from the *milieu* with which she was previously associated. The danger is especially great for prostitutes who were formerly registered. A few answers show that sometimes police enquiries about a woman's present whereabouts and behaviour lead to the breakdown of a carefully built-up life of respectability. Some reports from voluntary organisations seem to suggest that safeguards against mistakes of this kind on the part of the authorities are not taken in all countries with regulated prostitution.

Most of these women may not have attempted to conceal their past from their husbands. More often the husband, who was prepared to live a normal life with a reformed prostitute, is not able to continue in the face of the difficulties which appear after the woman's past is known (social ostracism, danger of loss of occupation, etc.).

In the West, marriage appears to be the solution only for the minority. In some countries in the East, however, the prospects of marriage seem to be quite good, especially if training in a home has made the woman an accomplished housewife, unlike most girls in the class from which she comes. The report from Hong-Kong and Malaya states that the girls trained in Po Leung Kuk homes are taught cookery, sewing, housewifery and fancy-work and that they are later sent out as servants or are married. "Owing to the surplus of Chinese males in Malaya there is rarely any difficulty in finding husbands for these women. A fair proportion of such marriages are successful."

In China, the majority of rehabilitated prostitutes who have been for a certain period of time in a public assistance institution are said to marry. The situation, however, is not so favourable elsewhere. In most parts of India, the possibilities of marriage seem to be slight, but one report (United Provinces) says that there, too, "some prostitutes do get married and settle down".

There are also many cases of prostitutes who leave the houses to live with a man, though unmarried. These women often disappear entirely from prostitution. Such cases are specially reported from South America, though they are probably no less frequent in European countries.

Return to Home.

The return of a woman to her own family, which suggests itself as the second-best solution, is generally either impossible or undesirable. Most of the families cannot afford to take back an adult member with no income of her own, and even when possible it is often not desirable that they should. The enquiry into the early lives of prostitutes¹ showed that the family background is often one of the contributory causes of prostitution. The home is therefore unsuitable, morally or materially, or both, for a new start in life. The answers to the enquiry mentioned above also showed that a surprisingly large number of homes were said to be too strict. In such cases, it is doubtful whether the family would agree to take the women back without humiliating them to such a degree as to undo all the effects of rehabilitation.

Return to Work.

There remains another—and the most common—solution: return to work. The question of the most suitable occupations has already been discussed. But once work has been found, another question arises. Should employers be told that the women were formerly prostitutes? The majority of employers evidently do not wish to engage former prostitutes. If the fact that the woman has been a prostitute is concealed at the time of the engagement and emerges later, the employee is probably

¹ "Prostitutes: Their Early Lives" (document C.218.M.120. 1938.IV).

dismissed and the agency or organisation which recommended her is blamed. The employer's reluctance appears to have two causes. He fears to lose his "reputability of character", as the Canadian answers put it; what is even more important, he fears the risk of infection (Canadian and Swedish answers). In the United States of America, for instance, the campaign against syphilis has induced a widespread fear on the part of employers that venereal disease might be introduced by women who had led a promiscuous life. Medical experience has shown that such fears are generally exaggerated, as cases of extra-genital infection are extremely rare.

The replies received, which are sometimes conflicting, may be summed up as follows. Opinion is generally against placing a former prostitute as a domestic servant without the knowledge and consent of the future employer, especially if he has a family with children. As far as offices and factories are concerned, opinions are divided. Here, however, the trend of opinion seems to be rather in favour of not divulging the woman's past.

The difficulty of finding work for reformed prostitutes is often so great that it is not to the competitive labour market that associations apply, but to private employers who, with full knowledge of the women's past, are ready to employ them out of a sense of duty towards society. Employers of this kind are found particularly in Quaker circles in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Naturally, however, only a very small proportion of the women can be placed in this manner.

CHIEF OBSTACLES TO THE REHABILITATION OF PROSTITUTES

The question on the chief obstacles to rehabilitation was generally answered very fully. According to the United Kingdom report, the difficulties may be divided into three groups : social difficulties, economic difficulties and personal or psychological difficulties. Such a classification must, of course, be partly artificial, since it is sometimes impossible to separate the difficulties created by social circumstances, by economic factors or by temperament.

Social Difficulties.

Any study of the rehabilitation of prostitutes made half a century ago would have given social difficulties as the most important. From the answers to the questionnaires, however, it appears that although the attitude of society is still partly responsible for obstacles in the way of women wishing to return to normal life, in most countries to-day, the barriers which social convention throws up are no longer insurmountable.

There are, of course, a few exceptions. A report from India, for instance, states :¹

“ Once they join the profession, they find it impossible to give it up, because they are regarded as social outcasts and not allowed to mix in society even if they decide to lead an honest life.”

Such an attitude, however, does not prevail throughout India or the East. On the contrary, there is evidence that,

¹ Report from the Government of Bombay.

in some parts of the East, the possibilities for former prostitutes to return to society and to marry are rather more favourable than in other parts of the world.

The Government of Cuba states in its report that :

“ In Latin countries, the chief difficulty in rehabilitating women who have been engaged in prostitution is the traditional social practice of regarding prostitutes as incorrigible, innately depraved delinquents.”

The Cuban answer adds, however, that this is “ an erroneous conception, since the position of prostitutes may be purely accidental and due to a multitude of combined causes independent of their will. Novels, theatres and so on have their share of responsibility. A campaign to regard prostitution as a social phenomenon created by the inadequate distribution of work, amongst other causes, would greatly facilitate the rehabilitation of these women.”

Some European answers also mention the great difficulties created by the intransigence of public opinion. The Yugoslav report, for instance, states that former prostitutes are considered as outcasts. But, on the whole, a quotation from the Canadian answer can be taken as representing the opinion of most social workers. It states :

“ The chief difficulty encountered in efforts for reclamation and social readjustment is the girl's or woman's own attitude and moral standard.”

Without underestimating the rôle society plays, it seems that the evolution of public opinion in the great majority of countries within the past fifty years has been such that a former prostitute who seriously wishes to return to a normal working life and who is mentally able to adapt herself finds no great social difficulties in her way.

Apart from society as a whole, the attitude of previous associates may be a great obstacle to rehabilitation. *Souteneurs* and procurers may exert pressure on a woman by

threats to expose her past should she attempt to reform. The French answer mentions especially the rôle played by this part of the underworld and suggests that one of the chief difficulties might be overcome by "intensifying, through the adoption of the requisite laws, the campaign instituted against *souteneurs* and procurers of every description".

Economic Difficulties.

At present, economic difficulties appear to be far more serious than social ones. Most of the answers were compiled during the last economic crisis, so this type of difficulty may have been unduly stressed; the fact remains, however, that most former prostitutes belong to the group of workers who, owing to lack of training, energy and aptitude, can only hope to keep a good post when labour is scarce.

Domestic service offers the greatest chances of employment, and undoubtedly the majority of the women are found work of this kind. Another section has set out the reasons, however, why it is not always suitable. As far as other employment is concerned, jobs in bars, cabarets and restaurants are not hard to find, but carry with them a great risk that the women will return to prostitution.

It must be remembered, too, that if, despite competition and lack of training, good posts can be found, the difficulty then arises that employers generally require references or work-papers. This is one of the rocks on which many attempts to reform have foundered; cases have been known of social agencies' taking the risk of giving the women references which will enable them to overcome this obstacle.

Apart from the difficulty of finding work, there is also that of retaining it. It often seems to happen that women who have received institutional training, or have in some other way been separated from their previous surroundings

and who enter a new occupation with every intention of making good, leave their new job or are dismissed within a very short time. The primary reason for this is to be found in a trait common to nearly all these women—that is to say, inability or unwillingness to adjust themselves to the environment in which they live. Unless the women are mentally abnormal, this difficulty would not in itself prejudice entirely their new start in life. But it is often coupled with an insufficient realisation of the effort demanded by the work they take up. They have not worked on their own responsibility for many years, and they underestimate the constant effort needed to work under modern conditions.

From the above, it will be seen how important it is that institutional training should not give a false sense of efficiency and perseverance. In its last stage, the training should demand from the woman an effort similar to that which would be expected of her in the outside world; further, she should be partly re-adapted to normal life, so that the transition does not seem too violent.

This was not always fully realised in the past, with the result that women who would have been able to supply either the effort needed by the new work or that needed by re-adaptation to normal life, had not enough energy to overcome both difficulties simultaneously.

Again, some women leave their jobs through instability of character. A report from America observes :

“ When the houses in a northern Californian city were closed, the customary assistance was offered. Of the score of women, not one availed herself of it.

“ Months later, however, one of these girls went to the League office. . . . This woman had been a stenographer. In a half-hour a position as stenographer had been secured for her. In a short time she lost it, because of her inability to resist the craving for intoxicants. She returned to the League office. The League sent her to a business college to give her an opportunity to brush up on her work, but she soon got beyond the League’s

control on account of her inability to leave liquor alone. She has disappeared.”¹

For the purpose of this study, it is of minor importance whether the craving for drugs or intoxicating liquor is a primary cause of prostitution or whether it was acquired later in the course of a dissipated life. The consequences are the same as far as the impossibility of keeping work is concerned.

There is one difficulty of a different order which has led in many cases to the abrupt ending of a woman's new start in normal life and work—the attitude of fellow-workers. The Bulgarian report states—and it is certain that similar experience has been gained in other countries—that, after the closing of licensed houses, attempts have been made by the social services at police headquarters to place previous prostitutes as factory workers without divulging their past.

“ In most cases, however, they have been dismissed at the request of the other women workers as soon as their former occupation was discovered. Nor was their situation any better when they succeeded in finding employment as saleswomen or servants, since their employers took similar action. The only employments readily available to them are those of waitress at a café or beer-shop, or dancer or actress at a cabaret or in a circus. Former prostitutes do not return to their villages, as they have become unused to heavy work in the fields.”

The report from the Netherlands remarks that if a reformed prostitute obtains work in a shop, her women colleagues often object. A similar opinion is expressed in a report from Norway.² In contrast to such experiences, the report from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics states that the men and women already employed

¹ *Social Hygiene*, Vol. VI, No. 3, July 1920; the American Social Hygiene Association, Inc., New York.

² Non-official information.

in industrial undertakings showed every consideration for these new workers.

Personal Difficulties.

Some psychological difficulties have already been mentioned, but the replies also give others : inability to work, unrestrained desire for luxury, laziness, inordinate desire for money, and the weakness of character which makes these women revert to their former mode of life " at the slightest disappointment ". These traits of character themselves hinder rehabilitation, and they help to keep the woman under the influence of her former *milieu*.

Another psychological obstacle mentioned again and again in the reports is created by the high earnings of the prostitute. It must be admitted that in her calling expenses are high and seasonal fluctuations great. Nevertheless, it appears from accounts, obtained by chance from time to time, that the average prostitute earns sums far in excess of what she could hope to receive in other work. The Belgian Government has submitted information on this point which shows that one prostitute working in the capital earned an average of 100 francs a day, and that another woman deposited in her banking account an average of 3,000 francs a month. Prostitutes are therefore accustomed to a standard of life disproportionate to their earning power in any other work, and those who abandon prostitution have to face the fact that, at best, they will be able to earn only a fraction of their former income.

A prostitute who wishes to return to a working life may be confronted with a difficulty of another kind—ill-health or constitutional weakness. Investigators have found two reasons why so many prostitutes have bad health. One is that women who are constitutionally weak or who have some chronic illness may take up prostitution because they are incapable or barely capable of hard manual work; the other is that prostitution itself often impairs the

prostitute's health through venereal disease and its consequences, through excessive drinking or drugging or through an unhealthy way of life. Whatever the cause may be, the fact remains that many women who were formerly prostitutes are incapacitated for strenuous work.

VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF REHABILITATION

The introduction to this report pointed out that in parts of Western Europe and America the problem of rehabilitation has lately been altered by the fact that prostitution has become a more casual occupation. Undoubtedly, the abolition of regulated prostitution in many countries and the more tolerant attitude of society have automatically increased the number of prostitutes—especially casual prostitutes—who are able to rehabilitate themselves by their own efforts. This is, however, a result of development in general moral standards and in the social services. It is not directly due to the operation of those rehabilitation services which this report has set out to describe.

On the results achieved by these more specialised services, the answers to the questionnaire are conflicting. Perhaps the most optimistic is the report from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which rates the success achieved by the prophylactoria high and remarks that, of 3,810 persons who went through the Moscow prophylactorium in the first eleven years of its existence, "2,143—*i.e.*, 56.3%—have become workers in factories large or small; 1,237 persons—*i.e.*, 32.5%—have left the prophylactorium at their own request, and 382—*i.e.*, 10%—have been excluded in consequence of having violated the internal regulations of the institution". The scale of opinion varies from this optimistic attitude through the qualified optimism found in the replies of many voluntary organisations and of the Roumanian report, down to the not uncommon statement that the difficulties must be regarded

as insurmountable in the vast majority of cases. Latvia, for instance, estimates the percentage of hopeless cases at eighty; Danzig states that 75% of the women who have been liberated from the control connected with registration have relapsed; similar views are expressed by countries of such varying social and geographic structure as Italy, the Netherlands, Burma and Siam.

The situation is clearly different in some countries in the East where, as has already been said, the problem of prostitution takes a different form and where rehabilitation is more a task for authorities and legislatures than for social workers. In other parts of the East—as, for instance, in the Netherlands Indies, where (as the report of the Netherlands Government shows) the popular conception of morality makes prostitution appear less grave than in countries with different moral views—it is easy for a great number of prostitutes to give up this life. “The women who are still young and strong often withdraw after a short time of bawdy life to return to their native village and to marry. These women often attract a man particularly in consequence of their means and the experience they have acquired.”

FINAL REMARKS

The previous sections have shown that the experience and opinions of Governments and voluntary organisations on the question of rehabilitation are often conflicting. Nevertheless, from the extensive material submitted, certain general principles emerge. The great majority of social workers and authorities agree that :

(a) Any women who suffer from pronounced mental abnormality should be detected and handed over for special treatment. Some of the failures of rehabilitation are due to the fact that obviously defective women have been treated in the same way as normal ones.

(b) Attempts at rehabilitation are more likely to succeed with young women or with women who have been practising prostitution for only a short time.

(c) The women should be removed from their previous surroundings in order to sever them completely from the influence of their previous *milieu*.

(d) They should be trained, preferably in an institution, for a different occupation from that which they followed before becoming prostitutes.

There is no common opinion about the methods best suited for rehabilitating prostitutes, nor about the occupations for which they could be trained, nor on the difficulties of finding and keeping work. One positive suggestion does, however, seem to emerge from the answers : rehabilitation is likely to be successful only if the woman is trained for an occupation superior to that which she held before, or if the new occupation which she takes up carries with it compensations of a spiritual, social or recreational nature. Some of the religious institutions which expect

women to remain with them for life, especially the houses of " Bethany ", have based their unquestionable success on their psychological insight into the problem. Many of the past and present failures are due to the fact that this essential point was not grasped or to the lack of facilities enabling social workers to put their knowledge to good use.

From whatever angle the problem is approached, one fact emerges beyond question : whatever success rehabilitation services have had in the past and whatever success they may achieve by improved methods, remedial treatment will always be the second best course; a permanent solution of this question can be found only through prevention.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The enquiry into the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes leads to four general conclusions. First, it shows that the difficulties of rehabilitation have not been exaggerated. Only a small minority of prostitutes wish to be helped, their re-education is often slow, complicated and costly, and quite a number slip back into their old life once their period of training is over. In the information submitted to the Committee, there are no facts to warrant the hope that measures of rehabilitation, by themselves, will ever greatly diminish the number of prostitutes. Nevertheless—although there are limits to their usefulness—agencies and homes for rehabilitation are necessary and useful.

Secondly, no one method of rehabilitation can be upheld as the best in all circumstances. Differences of climate, social structure, religion, custom and national temperament affect the character of prostitution and the prostitute. In parts of the East, for instance, women become prostitutes more through the pressure of custom and less through personal choice than in Europe and America. On the other hand, they often escape from prostitution more easily through marriage because there is less prejudice against a former prostitute. Again, in countries with a high standard of living and well-developed social services the mental level of prostitutes is generally lower than in less advanced countries. For improved social services diminish the external causes of prostitution—unfavourable circumstances

in childhood, bad labour conditions, destitution, the influence of procurers, etc.—and thus reduce the number of women who become prostitutes as a result of these external causes. On the other hand, they leave almost untouched the stratum of prostitutes who have been brought to prostitution mainly by personal and psychological factors—mental deficiency, a psychopathic temperament, aversion to work, chronic illness, constitutional weakness, etc.—and it is among these that the mental level is usually lowest.

Thus measures of rehabilitation must be varied to suit the society in which they will be used. Methods of the most varied kinds have, in fact, proved their value. It is a far cry from the prophylactoria in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the “ Houses of Bethany ” in France and Belgium, but both can point to satisfactory results.

Thirdly, the Committee concludes that special rehabilitation services can only be built successfully on a foundation of wider social measures. It is useless to train prostitutes in institutions if social custom, bad labour conditions, the unhampered activities of brothel-keepers and procurers and the absence of insurance against unemployment and ill-health will throw them back into prostitution when they leave. Moreover, the number of prostitutes whom good social services and an educated public opinion have enabled to abandon prostitution of their own accord is probably far larger than the number assisted by special rehabilitation homes.

General social reforms which operate to reduce the number of prostitutes are, for instance, the abolition of licensed brothels, the enforcement of legal penalties against brothel-keeping and procuring, the care and supervision of mental defectives, the regulation of hours of work and working conditions in women's occupations, unemployment and health insurance for women workers, assistance to the mothers of illegitimate children and to widows with

small children. Special organisations or institutions for rehabilitating prostitutes will be most effective when they are based upon these general reforms for the improvement of social welfare.

Of these measures, the Committee emphasises the importance of action against those who live on the proceeds of prostitution. The enquiry has shown that women are sometimes prevented from abandoning prostitution or induced to return to it by the threats or blackmail of souteneurs, and that where the penalties against souteneurs are light or rarely enforced, prostitutes are too frightened of a subsequent revenge to denounce souteneurs to the police. Procurers and brothel-keepers, too, are sometimes able by personal influence, force or financial pressure to prevent prostitutes from escaping. Moreover, previous enquiries have shown that brothels are active centres of traffic in women.

The exploiting of prostitutes has much decreased in countries where it is severely punished. The Committee therefore considers that a necessary pre-requisite to successful measures of rehabilitation is legislation providing for severe penalties against souteneurs, brothel-keepers and procurers, enforced by administrative practice and energetic police action, and it hopes that legislation and administrative practice of this kind will soon become universal.

Fourthly, the Committee considers that the difficulties of rehabilitation will remain great as long as the demand for prostitutes enables women to earn far more in prostitution than in other work. Any effort to diminish the demand by education, increasing the opportunities for recreation, and penalising the artificial excitement of demand by third persons must therefore be considered an indirect measure of rehabilitation.

Apart from these four general conclusions, the enquiry has led the Committee to make specific recommendations on rehabilitation : when it should be attempted, to whom it

should be entrusted and on what principles it should be conducted.

1. The evidence shows that prostitutes can be rehabilitated most easily when they have not been in the profession long and before they have lost the habit of work. It is therefore important that means of assistance should be made known and offered early. This can be done in various ways: social service workers can attend police courts; there may be social assistants attached to hospitals and clinics; the police, women police and voluntary workers may speak to prostitutes in the street; and notices can be posted in police courts, hospitals, prisons and public places. Of these channels of publicity, the police and the public hospitals seem to be the most important, and experience shows that young prostitutes are often open to persuasion at the time of their first venereal infection.

The practice of sentencing prostitutes to a fine or a short imprisonment for an offence against the law is useless either as a deterrent to prostitution or as a protection to society. It would be far better if, after her first conviction, a prostitute were put on probation and handed over to the care of an official or voluntary social service agency, or in a more serious case, sent to an institution.

2. The success of attempts at rehabilitation depends partly on the personality and insight of the social worker who directs them; but it also depends on knowledge. Institutions and organisations should be under the control of trained social workers who have some knowledge of psychological problems, the treatment of mental deficiency and the modern methods of dealing with delinquency.

3. The Committee are particularly interested in the attempts to combine social assistance with medical treatment for venereal disease. Venereal disease patients must be kept under observation for some time, and this provides an opportunity for helping them in other ways. The report

on *Social Services and Venereal Disease*¹ shows that prostitutes have been found ready to trust and confide in doctors and nurses, and that social assistance given by a hospital or clinic has often served as a valuable means of rehabilitation. The Committee considers that it should be the regular practice for a trained social worker to be attached to venereal disease hospitals and clinics or for one of the nurses to be specially entrusted with social work.

4. The problem of rehabilitation varies not only from continent to continent and from country to country, but also within each country according to the character, mental ability, social standing and state of health of the prostitute who is being helped. Methods of treatment should therefore be elastic and should not be decided upon until the case has been investigated. Experience shows that most women who have been professional prostitutes for a long time can only regain health and the habit of work by spending two or three years in an institution. Other women may only need advice and encouragement, legal or financial help, or help in finding work; many fall between these two extremes. The rehabilitation services should include, besides institutions which take prostitutes for long periods, social service bureaux which give information and help to find employment, and hostels where girls and women can lodge and go out to work. The hostels are valuable because they provide cheap accommodation and some supervision for women who do not need or are unwilling to go into a home; they can also act as a link between institutions and the world outside, by taking for a short time the women who have left a home. Hostels attached to hospitals which will take women with venereal disease are particularly useful. The women can have far more freedom than in a hospital ward. At the same time continuity of treatment is assured, and the chances of infection are reduced.

¹ Document C.6.M.5.1938.IV.

The homes, hostels and agencies concerned with rehabilitation should work together and should keep in touch with the police, magistrates' courts, hospitals and clinics, public relief authorities and voluntary charitable associations so that each prostitute may receive assistance of the kind she most needs.

Whatever form of help is given, it will be most likely to succeed if certain principles are followed :

5. Since prostitutes often have slight mental or psychical abnormalities, they should be examined by a mental specialist in order that special treatment may be given to those who need it. This examination should be made, if possible, upon admittance to a home or refuge and again, after the lapse of a certain period of rest, before the form of assistance to be given has been decided.

6. When the women make a new start, it should be in fresh surroundings, where they will not be reminded of their former life or exposed to the influence of former friends or exploiters.

7. Rehabilitation homes which train prostitutes to return to a working life should not impose too rigid a discipline or a way of life too different from the normal one. Not only does this deter prostitutes from entering them, but—what is more serious—the stay in the home then ceases to be a preparation for a normal working life: it does not develop independence and a sense of responsibility; and, when the women leave, the change is so abrupt that they have difficulty in adapting themselves to it and much of the value of their training is lost.

8. It is clear that the rehabilitation homes must try to provide the prostitute with new values and a new outlook on life, so that she may be eager to persevere with her training, and able, when she leaves, to resist the attraction of her old life. It is less easy to say how this moral education should be given. Some religious institutions try to bring about a moral and spiritual regeneration through awakening

or reviving faith; the prophylactoria impress on the women their duty as citizens; some homes try to teach new standards of conduct; others give little direct moral teaching, but rely on atmosphere and example. One principle, however, must apply to every method. Moral tenets are best taught not only by an appeal to reason, but also by suggestion, personal influence and example. The personality of the woman in charge of the institution should therefore be one which attracts and influences others. She should make a point of knowing each inmate personally, and should treat her as an individual human being, with sympathy and understanding.

9. One of the greatest advantages of a stay in an institution is that it affords an opportunity of becoming interested in some kind of work and accustomed to regular working hours. Domestic work and laundry work are usually taught, chiefly because employment in these occupations is easiest to find, partly because many of the women were formerly domestic servants and know the work, partly because it can be taught without expensive apparatus. But many women are not suited to domestic work. Moreover, the fact that so many prostitutes started life in domestic service, but afterwards left it, suggests that they generally lack the qualities which go to make good household servants. The Committee considers it important that the women should be trained for work which they like and to which they are suited, and that they should not be obliged to return to the occupation which they followed before they became prostitutes. Whenever the state of the labour market permits it, a choice of training—industrial, domestic, clerical, etc.—should be offered.

Agricultural training of girls from the country has given excellent results and is particularly recommended as a method of rehabilitation.

A prostitute is used to earning, with the minimum of labour, far higher pay than she can hope to receive in other

work, and she will be inclined to remember her high earnings rather than the losses caused by seasonal fluctuations and illness. If possible, therefore, she should be trained for and found employment which offers a reasonable standard of living and which carries with it special compensations—spir tual, social or recreational.

If industrial training is given, the work done by women at the end of their stay should be as strenuous as in an ordinary factory or workshop. One of the dangers of work in an institution is that it may give a false sense of efficiency and endurance which breaks down with the return to ordinary work. The principal object of the training should be to accustom the women mentally and physically to the effort which modern industrial work demands. They can then adapt themselves without difficulty to any kind of work, whereas to give higher vocational training without having laid this foundation is almost useless.

10. One of the chief problems of homes and societies is to find work for the women they have helped, for they are hampered by the absence of the regular work-cards and references and by the difficulty of finding employers willing to accept former prostitutes. The Committee considers that, as a general rule, if the woman is being placed in a factory, workshop or office, the employer need not be told that she was once a prostitute. For domestic service no hard and fast rule can be given. On the one hand, an agency assumes a serious responsibility if it finds a former prostitute work in a private family with children without giving the employer full information. On the other hand, if the facts are invariably told, they may prevent a young woman who was possibly a prostitute only for a short time from ever finding domestic work. The practice must vary according to custom, the character of the woman, and the employer and the nature of the work. In any case, the employer should not be told that the woman was a prostitute unless she consents, so that she

may be free, if she wishes, to refuse the post and look for work herself.

When a health certificate is not asked for, the social agency should be responsible for seeing that the women they place are not suffering from any disease in an infectious stage.

The evidence shows that the difficulty of finding and keeping work is often a serious obstacle to rehabilitation, for women who leave rehabilitation institutions may at present have to face not only the reluctance of employers to offer them work, but also the contempt and aversion of their fellow workers. The Committee feel, therefore, that more should be done to educate public opinion on this question, in order that the effect of assistance shall not be nullified.

11. Social workers should usually keep in touch for some time, directly or through an intermediary, with the women who have passed through their hands, in order to give them help and advice. For those who are starting work in a new district, after-care should be arranged through a local agency. This is an additional reason why agencies and associations should work together. It is important that the women should make new friends and find some recreation for their spare time; after-care workers should therefore, if possible, introduce them to a club or a recreational centre.

The main purpose of after-care is to prolong assistance and supervision. But it has a subsidiary value in the light it throws on the success or failure of measures of rehabilitation. Surprisingly few of the institutions and societies covered by the enquiry could give more than a rough estimate of the results of their work. This may be due partly to the difficulty of judging success; but the Committee believes that, if after-care were carried out systematically, some at any rate of this uncertainty would be dissipated and that the knowledge gained would enable methods of treatment to be improved.

These recommendations on after-care are made, however, with one important reservation : that it should be carried out with intelligence and discretion. Blunt and clumsy enquiries by an after-care worker or, more especially, by the police may destroy reputation and confidence and undo the work of rehabilitation. Moreover, in some cases even the most tactful supervision may be a handicap or may be felt as an unnecessary reminder of the past. If there is any risk that after-care might do harm, it should, of course, be dropped immediately.

* * *

The Committee believes that, if these principles are followed, attempts at rehabilitation have a good prospect of success, especially with young prostitutes. Moreover, if it were to become the common practice for prostitutes appearing before the courts for some offence against the law to be examined by a mental specialist, and if a period of supervision or training were to take the place of fines and short terms of imprisonment, the activity and importance of rehabilitation organisations would greatly increase.

Nevertheless, though they have a value now and may become more valuable still, measures of rehabilitation can never, by themselves, solve the problem of prostitution. They labour under two capital disadvantages : the reluctance of prostitutes to submit to treatment, and the fact that rehabilitation can only reduce the supply of prostitutes and not the demand for them. For this, as for other social evils, the solution must be sought in prevention rather than cure. Attempts at rehabilitation need to be supplemented by preventive action, which is at once easier, more lasting in its effects, and of wider application.

ANNEX I

TEXT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Two questionnaires drawn up by the Traffic in Women and Children Committee were sent out for this enquiry: one in June 1934 and the second (in three parts) in June 1935.

The first questionnaire was sent only to voluntary organisations and to a few persons with special experience. A few Government representatives on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee also collaborated in a personal capacity.

The second questionnaire was sent to Members of the League and non-member States as well as to the international organisations represented at that time on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee by assessors.

The First Questionnaire.

The first questionnaire read as follows :

1. In what manner and through what agencies¹ are cases brought to notice?

How do the women and girls concerned learn that facilities for their assistance are available?

2. Are the agencies which undertake this work paid from public funds or subsidised or is the cost met from voluntary subscriptions?

Are there specialised agencies or is their work general social welfare work?

What methods are in force for co-ordinating the work, exchanging ideas and conferring upon the problem?

¹ It would be helpful to be furnished with the names and addresses of a few of the larger agencies in your country dealing with the work of rehabilitation.

3. Are arrangements in force for classifying, with a view to appropriate training and re-education, the women and girls who come under notice?

What is the practice in regard to :

(a) Returning girls to their homes and friends—is this system combined with supervision and in what manner? Are there facilities for sending foreign girls back to their homes?

(b) The ascertainment of the mentally defective and their transfer to special institutions.

(c) Institutional training—for how long is this given and is it inspected and how is it regulated and organised?

(d) Hostel facilities—by which is meant places in which women and girls may lodge while going out to daily work. What is the usual length of stay under such conditions?

(e) Provision for the free treatment of venereal diseases—what social services are organised in connection with this treatment?

(f) Special arrangements for pregnant women and girls—*e.g.*, what is done for the baby when the mother returns to normal life?

4. Are records kept of the cases assisted? Is after-care carried out? Is there any information on results obtained and on the comparative value of any of the methods enumerated in 3 above?

5. What, in the opinion of the agencies concerned, are the chief difficulties in the work of rehabilitation and how can they be met?

If there have been changes in the methods of work of recent years, please indicate the difference in the measures now adopted.

6. Do you wish to draw attention to any other point concerning measures of rehabilitation?

The Second Questionnaire.

Part I of the second questionnaire (document C.T.F. E.670), the part which concerns this report, reads as follows:¹

¹ The text of Part II of the questionnaire on rehabilitation is to be found in document C.6.M.5.1938.IV, "Social Services and Venereal Disease", for which it served as a basis.

Part III of the questionnaire served as a basis for the volume on "Prostitutes: Their Early Lives", document C.218.M.120. 1938.IV; its text is printed in that volume.

1. At what age do women attain civil majority?

If there is a system of regulation of prostitution in your country, at what age are women :

(a) Admitted to tolerated brothels?

(b) Inscribed on the register of prostitutes?

2. If the system of tolerated brothels exists in your country, are there social services to enable women to give up this mode of life? Are measures taken to prevent their being detained in the brothel on the ground of poverty, debt or other circumstances?

3. If tolerated brothels have been abandoned in your country, what steps were taken at the time to provide for the women who were released from the houses?

4. What social measures are taken :

(a) In regulationist countries, for the rehabilitation of clandestine and registered prostitutes respectively;

(b) In abolitionist countries, for the rehabilitation of prostitutes?

What do you consider to be the chief difficulties experienced in the rehabilitation of these women? How can these difficulties be overcome? What, in general, have been your results?

5. For what type of work has it proved most suitable to train them and what are the chief difficulties in finding suitable work?

6. What use is made of public assistance institutions and are public assistance grants available for the rehabilitation of adult women?

7. How do the social agencies, public or private, get in touch with the prostitutes and how do the latter know where to apply if they wish to give up their mode of life?

This questionnaire was preceded by a note stating that "this report will be limited in scope and will deal with certain aspects of rehabilitation as applied to adults".

* * *

The replies received from Governments and voluntary organisations which deal with the preventive aspect of the problem will be utilised for a report on the prevention of prostitution prepared by the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

ANNEX II

NAMES OF GOVERNMENTS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS WHICH SENT INFORMATION

First Questionnaire.

The following Governments, associations and individuals sent information in answer to the first questionnaire :

The technical expert of the Belgian Government. on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee (who submitted a memorandum);

Delegate of the United Kingdom on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee (who collected and submitted replies emanating from voluntary organisations in the United Kingdom);

Delegate of Poland (on behalf of the National Polish Committee);

Delegate of Roumania;

The Directorate of Federal Police in Vienna;

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The following organisations represented by assessors on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee submitted reports :

Women's International Organisations;

International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues;

International Federation for Aid to Young Women;

Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women and Children;

International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children (reports from the following national committees : Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, Uruguay);

International Catholic Association for the Protection of Young Girls.

The following organisations not represented on the Committee also sent information :

The American Social Hygiene Association;
The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (India);
The Deutscher Caritasverband.

Second Questionnaire.

The Governments of the following countries replied to the questionnaire (document C.T.F.E/670) :

Afghanistan,	Iraq,
Union of South Africa, ¹	Ireland,
United States of America,	Italy,
Australia,	Japan,
Austria,	Latvia,
Belgium,	Liberia,
United Kingdom,	Mexico,
Hong-Kong,	New Zealand,
Malaya,	Netherlands,
Bulgaria,	Netherlands Indies,
Canada,	Curaçao,
Chile,	Surinam,
China,	Norway,
Cuba,	Poland, ²
Czecho-Slovakia,	Portugal,
Denmark,	Roumania, ³
Danzig,	Siam,
Egypt,	Sweden,
Estonia,	Switzerland,
Finland,	Turkey,
France,	Union of Soviet Socialist
Greece,	Republics,
Guatemala,	Uruguay,
Hungary,	Venezuela,
India,	Yugoslavia.
Iran, ¹	

¹ Sent no information in answer to this part of the report.

² A separate report was submitted by the Polish delegate on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee on behalf of the Polish Committee for Combating Traffic in Women and Children.

³ A special report was submitted by the Roumanian delegate on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee.

The following voluntary organisations also replied to the questionnaire (document C.T.F.E.670) :

Women's International Organisations;
International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues;
International Federation for Aid to Young Women;
Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women
and Children;
International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in
Women and Children;
International Catholic Association for the Protection of
Young Girls.

The Salvation Army, on request, submitted a special report on certain questions raised by this part of the questionnaire.

* * *

Publications, reports and pamphlets in the League library were also consulted for this report. Where such information has been used, the source has been given in a footnote. (Reports based on personal investigations made by League officials in different countries have also been utilised for the drawing-up of the present report.)

ANNEX III

LEGAL POSITION REGARDING THE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION

From information received by the League Secretariat, the legal position with regard to the regulation of prostitution in countries covered by this enquiry is as follows :

No registration of prostitutes or licensed brothels :

Afghanistan,	India, ³
Union of South Africa,	Iran, ⁴
United States of America, ¹	Ireland,
Argentine Republic,	Liberia,
Australia, ²	New Zealand,
United Kingdom (and nearly all British possessions, protectorates and territories under British mandate),	Netherlands (and most of its overseas territories),
Canada,	Norway,
Cuba,	Sweden,
Czecho-Slovakia,	Switzerland,
Denmark,	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
Dominican Republic,	Uruguay,
Finland,	Venezuela,
Germany,	Yugoslavia. ⁴

¹ The reply states that, in many parts of the United States of America, prostitution is a legal offence.

² In Queensland, known prostitutes are required to report at regular intervals, when they are examined by medical officers for venereal disease. If this is found to be present, they can be detained for treatment.

³ There is a register for certain classes of prostitutes in Bengal.

⁴ The official reply states that prostitution is prohibited by law.

Registration in force, licensed or tolerated brothels abolished

Austria, ¹	Hungary,
Bulgaria,	Latvia,
Danzig,	Poland,
Estonia,	Roumania.

Licensed brothels and registration of prostitutes in force

Belgium, ²	Iraq, ⁴
Bolivia,	Italy, ⁴
Chile,	Japan, ⁵
Colombia,	Mexico,
Ecuador,	Peru,
Egypt,	Portugal,
France, ³	Siam, ⁴
Greece,	Turkey.
Guatemala,	

For a number of countries, it has not been possible to establish beyond doubt whether the registration of prostitutes which is in force in the large cities is combined with a system of licensed houses or not. This applies especially to the following Latin-American countries: Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and Salvador.

China is in principle abolitionist, but the system of tolerated brothels has, as a Government report states, not yet been altogether eradicated.

¹ Tolerated brothels are still legal in some of the smaller towns.

² Licensed brothels abolished in Brussels and Antwerp.

³ Licensed brothels abolished by eighteen municipalities.

⁴ Registration for women in brothels only.

⁵ In five prefectures, licensed brothels have been abolished (Akita, Aomori, Gunma, Nagano and Saitama); in the other prefectures, registered prostitutes are confined to certain districts.

INDEX

Note—This index refers to the three publications forming the Enquiry into Measures of Rehabilitation of Prostitutes. In order to facilitate researches, the following references have been adopted.

- I—*Prostitutes. Their Early Lives* (Part I);
- II—*Social Services and Venereal Disease* (no part mentioned);
- III—*Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes* (Parts 3 and 4)

The first number (roman figures) refers to the volume; the second number (arabic figures) refers to the page

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